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THE STRUCTURE OF AYACUCHO QUECHUA.

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THIS LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF AYACUCHO QUECHUA IS INTENDED TO BE A FAIRLY COMPLETE ANALYSIS OF THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE. USED WITH THE AUTHORS' SPOKEN AYACUCHO QUECHUA COURSE, IT IS A COMPREHENSIVE REFERENCE WORK FOR THE STUDENT AS WELL AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIELD OF DESCRIPTIVE LINGUISTICS. BECAUSE OF THE HIGH DEGREE OF INFLECTION AND SYNTACTIC COMPLEXITY OF QUECHUA, THIS DESCRIPTION IS STRONGLY ORIENTED TOWARD MORPHOLOGY, THE METHOD AND TERMINOLOGY EMPLOYED IS BASICALLY TAKEN FROM HOCKETT (1958) WITH A FEW SPECIAL TERMS FOR QUECHUA TAKEN FROM SOLA (1958). QUITE TECHNICAL IN APPROACH, THIS DOCUMENT IS OF VALUE TO THOSE WITH TRAINING IN QUECHUA OR LINGUISTICS. (JD)

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THE STRUCTURE OF AYACUCHO QUECHUA

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The Structure of Ayacucho Quechua

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[Gary J. Parker]

Quechua Language Materials Project

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Preface to the Student

This scientific description of the Ayacucho dialect of Quechua was prepared by the Quechua Language Materials Project of Cornell University under contract with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education Contract No. SAE-9513, authorized by Public Law 85-864, Title VI, Part A Section 602.

The student will find in these pages an interpretation of the living language: analysis is based on recently collected data, conclusions have been thoroughly checked with native speakers of the Ayacucho dialect. The principal investigators who collaborated on this project sincerely hope that this book will serve as a useful reference for all those who propose to work in the Ayacucho area of Peru.

Donald F. Solá
Gary J. Parker

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Ayacucho Quechua is the dialect spoken by approximately one million persons in the sierra of the south-central Peruvian departments of Huancavelica, Ayacucho, and Apurímac (east of Abancay), as identified by Rowe 1950. It belongs historically to the group of dialects which also includes those of Cuzco, Bolivia, Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, and parts of the northeastern Peruvian lowlands, standing apart from a second group of dialects spoken in the Peruvian sierra from Junín northward.

Latin American publications dealing with Ayacucho Quechua have been largely limited to collections of texts; see, for example, Arguedas 1960-61, Lauriault 1955-7 and 1958, and Meneses 1954. A noteworthy lexicographical contribution is the sizable Spanish - Cuzco - Ayacucho - Junín - Ancash - Aymara Vocabulario Políglota Incaico, Misioneros..., 1905. A pedagogical grammar and accompanying tapes have been published by the Quechua Language Materials Project, 1963. Other materials include an advanced pedagogical text, an English - Quechua dictionary, a formal grammar, and a bilingual Quechua - Spanish reader.

The present description is strongly oriented toward morphology, with details of the syntactic functions of forms presented as the forms are introduced, and a summary of construction, clause, and sentence types constituting the final chapter. Within this framework a fairly complete analysis is attempted. The method and terminology employed is basically that of Hockett 1958, and a few special terms for Quechua are taken from Solá 1958. Terminological innovations are kept to a minimum, and this has been in large part achieved by avoiding the use of special technical adjectives for individual suffixes.

The principal informant, both in Peru and at Cornell, has been Mr. Alfredo Olarte Mejía, a student of anthropology at the Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga in Ayacucho. Mr. Olarte was born in Ayacucho on November 20, 1935. He grew up in Ayacucho and in Pacaycasa, province Huanta, and has travelled extensively throughout the department. Also, for this research Miss Jesús Ramírez, a student of Anthropology at Huamanga, dictated a series of folk tales recorded in her native district of Puquio, province of Lucanas. Similar texts from the province of Cangallo gathered by and under the direction of Dr. Gabriel Escobar of the anthropology faculty of Huamanga also form part of the corpus for this study.

CHAPTER 2:
PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

The phonemic inventory of Ayacucho Quechua consists of five vowels, twenty consonants, stress, juncture, and three terminal contours.

2.1 Vowel Phonemes.

2.11 Inventory.

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

2.12 Vowel Allophones.

The vowels /i u e o/ each have freely varying tense and lax allophones, respectively tense [i u e o] and lax [I U ɛ ɔ], with tense allophones more frequent when accompanied by heavy stress or adjacent to a palatal consonant.

All vowels before juncture and following a voiceless consonant are shortened and partially or completely unvoiced. The high vowels /i u/ in this position are also somewhat lowered and centralized.

2.2 Consonant Phonemes.

2.21 Inventory.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	post-velar
voiceless stops	p	t	č	k	
voiced stops	b	d		g	
voiceless spirants	f	s		h	q
nasals	m	n	ñ		
laterals		l	l̃		
tap		r			
retroflex spirant		ř			
glides			y	w	

Variations from the phoneme inventory presented above are of the following kinds. (a) In some areas the phoneme /h/ has been lost, but these areas seem to be small and widely scattered. One speaker from the city of Ayacucho was regularly heard to say, for example, /uk/ 'one', /ina/ 'like', and /ayay/ 'to burn', as opposed to the more common /huk/, /hina/, and /hayay/. (b) /q/ and /h/ have merged in the speech of some persons; this phenomenon apparently is restricted to younger speakers. (c) The phonemes /e/ and /o/ are replaced by /i/ and /u/ respectively in the speech of some persons, reflecting lack of contact with speakers of Spanish.

2.22 Consonant Allophones. The preceding chart shows positions and manners of articulation of the principal allophones. Conditioned or free variants are the following.

/f/ varies freely between labio-dental spirant [f] and bilabial spirant [ɸ].

/s/ varies freely between apico-alveolar [s] and lamino-alveolar [š] in the environments /i-k/ and /i-č/, and is apico-alveolar elsewhere.

/q/ varies freely between spirant [x̣] and stop [q] after /n/, and is a spirant elsewhere.

/h/ varies freely between velar [x] and [h] (voicelessness).

/n/ is apico-alveolar [n] before vowels and before the consonants /t č d s ř/, and is dorso-velar /ŋ/ elsewhere.

/ř/ is a retroflex vocoid [ɚ̣] before /s/, and a retroflex alveolar spirant elsewhere.

/yq/ occurs with loose transition as [y^{ə}x̣].

Between any non-vocoid consonant and a following vocoid /w/ or /y/ there occurs a vocoid transition with the value of the vocoid consonant, e.g. [áp^{1}ya] /apya/ 'mushy', [káč^{u}wan] /kačwan/ 'we should be'.

2.3 Stress and Juncture. There are two significant levels of stress in Ayacucho Quechua. Weak stress has two allophones, of which the strongest occurs on the initial syllable of words of four or more syllables. Strong stress falls on the penultimate or final syllable of the word; in the former case it is indirectly represented by space, and in the latter by the acute diacritic.

The allophones of juncture are: (a) the unvoicing and centralizing of a vowel in word-final position following a voiceless consonant; (b) glottal catch preceding a vowel in word-initial position; and (c) velarization of /n/ in word final position. Juncture is potential at any space where these conditions are present, but is often absent in rapid speech.

2.4 The Phonological Word. No highly reliable phonetic characteristic serves to mark the boundaries between wordlike units. Juncture is totally reliable where it occurs, but it occurs sporadically. Isolability is perhaps most useful as a criterion, but the native speaker is often uncertain, or speakers disagree as to isolability with regard to complex examples. It is best on the whole to employ grammatical criteria for the definition of a technically useful morphological word Spaces used to separate Quechua words in examples are therefore grammatically determined, even though they may serve to mark also the position of stress and juncture. A hyphen is sometimes used in the transcription with the value of space. In some occurrences hyphen signals stress and potential juncture

2.5 Phoneme Distribution. All phonemes occur in word-initial position. Vowel clusters do not occur. All phonemes occur preconsonantally except /h ñ/, and all occur in word-final position except /h ñ t b g f I r/. All consonants occur intervocalically. All vowel-consonant and consonant-vowel sequences occur, with the following exceptions: (a) */wu/ and preconsonantal */uw/ do not occur; (b) of the vowels, only / e o a/ occur adjacent to /q/ Intervocalic clusters of two consonants occur in word-final position.

Syllables in indigenous words follow the pattern (C)V(C), but deviations occur in Spanish borrowings, where virtually the full range of Spanish syllable-initial and medial clusters are found. Parenthesized clusters on the table occur only in Spanish loans, and are syllable-initial.

2.6 Terminal Contours. The terminal contours are falling, rising, and level. The falling contour is represented by period /./ or question mark /?/, the rising contour by question mark immediately following an accented syllable /´?/, and the level contour by comma /,/ or semicolon /;/. Where two representations are possible, the choice is determined by syntactic criteria

Medial Consonant Clusters

	p	t	č	k	b	d	g	f	s	q	m	n	ñ	l	l̆	r	ř	w	y
p	pp	pt	pč	pk					ps	pq	pm	pn	pñ	pl	pl̆	pr		pw	py
t	tp			tk						tq	tm					tr		tw	ty
č	čp			čk						čq								čw	čy
k	kp	kt	kč	kk					ks	kq	km	kn	kñ	kl	kl̆	kr	kř	kw	ky
b														(bl)		(br)			(by)
d																(dr)			(dy)
g																(gr)		gw	
f																(fr)			(fy)
s	sp	st	sč	sk				sf	ss	sq	sm	sn	sñ		sl̆	sr	sř	sw	sy
q	qp	qt	qč	qk					qs	qq	qm	qn	qñ	ql	ql̆	qr	qř	qw	qy
m	mp	mt	mč	mk	mb				ms	mq		mn	mñ		ml̆	mr		mw	my
n		nt	nč	nk		nd	ng	nf	ns	nq	nm	nn	nñ	nl	nl̆	nr	nř	nw	ny
l	lp	lt	lč	lk			lg		ls	lq	lm	ln	lñ		ll̆	lr		lw	ly
l̆	l̆p		l̆č	l̆k						l̆q	l̆m							l̆w	
r	rp	rt	rč	rk	rb		rg	rf		rq	rm							rw	ry
ř	řp	řt	řč	řk		řd			řs	řq	řm	řn	řñ	řl	řl̆	řr		řw	řy
w	wp	wt	wč	wk				wf	ws	wq	wm	wn	wñ		wl̆	wr		ww	wy
y	yp	yt	yč	yk	yb		yg	yf	ys	yq	ym	yn	yñ	yl	yl̆	yr	yř	yw	yy

2.7. Morphophonemics

2.71. Automatic and Free Alternation

2.711. /n/ is replaced by /m/ before /p/: /ñan/ 'road : /ñanpa/ 'of the road'.

2.712. /m/ is replaced by /n/ before /w/ and /m/: /qam/ 'you' : qanwan/ 'with you', /qanman/ 'to you'. Only three stems ending in /m/ are known: /qam/ 'you', /adam/ 'Adam', and /istadyum/ 'stadium'.

2.713. /k/ is in free alternation with zero before /k/ and /q/: /wak/ 'that' (distant) : /wakkama/ or /wakama/ 'as far as that', /wakqa/ or /waqa/ 'that' (topic of clause).

2.714. /q/ is in free alternation with zero before /q/: /kaq/ 'being' : /kaqqa/ or kaqa/ 'being (topic or clause).

2.715. /u/ and /i/ are replaced by /o/ and /e/ respectively before /q/.

2.72. Although only the vowels /e a o/ occur adjacent to /q/, the native three-vowel system of Quechua is reflected in this paper by a morphophonemic transcription in which only "i", "a", and "u" are written in the environment of /q/ and the symbols "e" and "o" are reserved for the positions in which five vowel phonemes occur. For example:

/puru/ 'feather' : /poro/ 'gourd' : /pero/ 'but' : /para/ 'rain' : /piruru/ 'whorl'

/unay/ 'delay' : /ongo/ 'mushroom' : /enero/ 'January' : /aniy/ 'to be bored with' : /iniksyon/ 'injection'

/masu/ 'bat' : /koso/ 'large corral' : /klase/ 'type' : /wasa/ 'back' : /kusi/ 'happy'

"/muqu/" /moqo/ 'knee' : /muhu / 'seed'

"/qina/" /qena/ 'quena' : /hina/ 'like'

"/tusuq/" /tusoq/ 'dancer' : /tusun/ 'he dances'

"/takiq/" /takeq/ 'singer' : /takin/ 'he sings'

"/miquř/" /meqoř/ 'better'

"/řeluq/"/řeloq/ 'clock, watch'

"/tuqay/" /toqay/ 'to spit' : /toqay/ 'to play'

Henceforth all forms as exemplified by those in quotation marks above will simply be written between slant lines, incorporating the convention described.

The vowel /o/ appears in a few words that are not of Spanish origin, e.g. /opa/ 'dumb', /poro/ 'gourd', /otolo/ 'rooster'. Other examples of native words containing apparently borrowed phonemes are /kabitu/ 'sleeping platform', /wayrungu/ 'bumblebee', and /porongo/ 'pitcher'.

2.73. Stem Alternants. A large number of stems have two or more freely alternating shapes. The commonest types of these alternations are the following.

2.731. Variable order of a two-consonant sequence: /čal̄wa/ ~ /čawl̄a/ 'fish', /tapsi-/ ~ /taspi-/ 'to shake',

/l̄apča-/ ~ /l̄ačpa-/ 'to feel', /warma/ ~ /wamra/ 'boy, girl'.

2.732. Variable order of non-adjacent consonants: /čimqi-/ ~ /qimči-/ 'to blink, wink', /yuraq/ ~ /ruyaq/ 'white'.

2.733. Alternation of consonants: /yal̄i-/ ~ /l̄al̄i-/ 'to defeat', /yanqa/ ~ /ñanqa/ 'foolishness', /ami-/ ~ /ani-/ 'to become tired of', /ačpi-/ ~ /aspi-/ 'to scratch', /ruwa-/ ~ /rura-/ 'to do, make', /quwi/ ~ /quyi/ 'guinea-pig'.

2.734. Alternation of consonant and zero: /huqari-/ ~ /uqari-/ 'to lift', /qapču-/ ~/qaču-/ 'to squeeze', /qista/ ~ /qisa/ 'nest'.

2.735. Alternation of vowels: /qapču-/ ~ /qapča-/ 'to squeeze', /sal̄al̄a/ ~ /sal̄al̄i/ 'stony ground'.

2.736. Alternation of vowel and zero: /watiya/ ~ /watya/ 'bake', /wayaqa/ ~ /wayqa/ 'purse'.

2.74 Morphologically conditioned and non-automatic alternations of suffix shape are described in the following chapters as the suffixes are introduced. Capital letters between slant lines are written to represent the partials affected.

CHAPTER 3: GRAMMATICAL PURVIEW

3.1. *Parts of Speech*. The parts of speech of Ayacucho Quechua are:

Substantive: /wasi/ 'house'
Verb: /riku-/ 'to see'
Ambivalent: /taka/ 'fist; to punch'
Particle: /mana/ 'no, not'

Each of these consists of subclasses on several levels.

Substantives and verbs are defined by differing patterns of inflection; ambivalents show both patterns; particles are not inflected.

Each part of speech is represented by both contentives and functors, as illustrated below:

	Contentive	*Functor*
Substantive:	/wasi/ 'house'	/kay/ 'this'
Verb:	/riku-/ 'to see'	/ka-/ 'to be'
Ambivalent:	/taka-/ 'fist; to punch'	/čayna/ 'that; to do thus'
Particle:	/upal̄a/ 'secretly'	/mana/ 'no, not'

3.11. *Subtantives*. All substantive stems are free forms, except those in one subclass of pronouns which require person endings. The principle substantive subclasses are:

Noun: /wasi/ 'house'
Adjective: /sumaq/ 'pretty'
Preadjective: /anča/ 'very'
Numeral: /iskay/ 'two'

Pronoun: /ñuqa/ 'I'

Interrogative-indefinite: /pi/ 'who'

Any noun may modify another in a noun phrase, but the noun-adjective distinction is as basic as in the Indo-European languages. Only the adjective may be modified by a preadjective; /anča sumaq/ 'very pretty'.

A very small number of substantives share the privileges of occurrence of two or more substantive classes, for example:

noun-adjective: /miski/ 'sweets, dessert; sweet'

noun-interrogative-indefinite: /ima/ 'what; thing'

adjective-pronoun: /l̆apa/ 'all; all (of us, you, them)'

Substantive classes are completely defined in 4.1.

3.12. Verbs. All verb stems are bound forms, with the exception of a single defective stem /haku/ 'let's go' which is optionally inflected for first person plural inclusive actor. The principle subclasses are:

Transitive: /riku-/ 'to see'

Intransitive: /puñu-/ 'to sleep'

Equational: /ka-/ 'to be'

The transitive class is by far the largest, and includes, as well as those verbs which appear transitive in translation, most verbs referring to motion or travelling, to states of weather, and to telling or asking. The direct object, goal of motion, place feeling the effect of weather, or recipient of telling or asking is in each instance expressable as a noun phrase with the case suffix /-ta/ (3.23; 4.23101).

The equational class has only three members, of which /ka-/

shows the only irregularity in the Quechua verbal system in that its simple present third person form /kan/ occurs only in intransitive clauses with the meaning 'there is, there are'.

Verb classes are completely defined in 5.1.

3.13. Ambivalents. Stems which function as both substantives and verbs are very numerous; for example:

/para 'rain; to rain'
/wira/ 'fat, grease; to grease'
/uru/ 'worm, bug; to be wormy'
/kiča/ 'open; to open'
/kuska/ 'together; to go together'
/wanta/ 'Huanta (a town); 'to go to Huanta'
/ima/ 'what, thing; to matter, happen'
/wañu/ 'transition from old to new moon; to die'

3.14. Particles. Uninflectable stems include interjections, a large class, and seven small classes as follows:

3.141. Interjections (INTERJ). Almost all members of this class are characterized by stress on the final syllable. Examples are: /ay/ 'oh!', /yaw/ 'hey!', /siw/ or /čiw/ 'zip', /čin/ 'ding', /aqá/ 'aha!', /čal̄án/ 'tingaling', /ačačáw/ 'what a pity!', /añal̄áw/ 'how nice!', /atatal̄áw/ 'how ugly!', /kayčikankaray/ 'how big!'.

3.142. Prepositions (PREP). /asta/ 'until' optionally precedes a noun phrase with the case suffix /-kama/ 'as far as, until': /asta uktubrikama/ 'till October'. /para/ 'before' precedes the prenumeral (3.145) plus one of the borrowed numerals used in telling time: /kwařtu para las nuybi/ 'quarter to nine'.

Also classed as a preposition is a marker which takes the shape of a following noun stem and: (a) adds /n/ to each word if the stem ends in a vowel; (b) optionally drops a final consonant from the first word. E.g. /wasi/ 'house': /wasin-wasin/ 'from house to house'; /punčaw/ 'day': /punčaw-punčaw/ or /punča-punčaw/ 'from day to day'. Other chameleon morphemes are described in 3.144, 3.148, and 4.13.

3.143. Coordinators (COORD): /iča/ and /o/ 'or', /ni/ 'nor', /i/ 'and'. Only the native word /iča/, which also functions as an adverbial particle (3.148), is of high frequency: /payču iča ñuqaču/ 'he or I?'.

3.144. Subordinators (SUBORD): /porke/ 'because', /peru/ 'but', /yaki/ 'since, seeing that', /siču/ 'if', /maski/ 'even if': /porke ña sa wal̄pa waqay oraña kačkasqa/ 'because it was already time for the cock to crow, they say'.

A fifth member of this class takes the shape of a following verb stem and adds /n/ to each word: /waqa-/ 'to cry': /waqan-waqan l̄uqsirqanki/ 'you left (while) crying'.

3.145. Prenumerals (PRENUM). Borrowed /la/ ~ /las/ precedes the time numerals (see 4.142).

3.146. Negators (NEG). /mana/ (general negation), /ama/ (prohibitive negation), and /ni/ 'not even' occur as directors in negative constructions (10.23), as initial attributive elements in substantival phrases, and (except /ni/) as complete clauses: /manam rinču/ 'he doesn't go', /manam al̄inču/ 'it's not good'; /mana al̄in/ 'not good, bad'; /manam/ 'no'.

3.147. Assenters and greetings (ASSENT): /ari/ and /aw/

'yes' (answer to question), /anři/ 'yes' (acquiescent), /boyno/ 'O.K.', /bonas-nočis/ 'good evening', /bonos-diyas/ 'good morning'. These occur only as whole clauses: /ari, risaqmi/ 'yes, I'll go'.

3.148. Adverbial Particles (ADV): /paqta/ and /iča/ 'perhaps'; /as/, /sa/, and /nis/ 'it is said'; /ma/ 'anyway'; /mabeř/ 'let's see'; /abeses/ and /talbesnin/ 'sometimes'; /ña/ 'already'; /kunan/ and /kanan/ 'now'; /riki/ 'of course'; /ačiki/ 'so be it'; /apiki/ 'just maybe'; /niraq/ 'like , similarly'; /antis/, /miquř/, and /aswan/ 'rather'; /huñul̄a/ 'together'; /sutil̄a/ 'obviously'; /upal̄a/ 'secretly'; /siqil̄a/ 'in order, consecutively'; /uya-uyanl̄a/ 'alertly'; /qatisl̄a/ 'frequently'; /qatinasl̄a/ 'continuously'; /řatul̄a/ 'later'; /al̄inl̄anl̄a/ 'very well'. E.g. /apiki ri-imarqa/ 'he just might have gone', /ma čaynata nin/ 'anyway, that's what he says', /payqa riki/ 'certainly he', /kananmi ričkan/ 'now he is going'.

Another member of this class takes the shape of a following verb stem and optionally adds /y/: /qawa-/ 'to watch': /qawa-qawan/ or /qaway-qawan/ 'he watches and watches'; /para-/ 'to rain': /para-paranqa/ 'it will rain and rain'.

/kunan/ and /kanan/ may be attributive to the time nouns /punčaw/ 'day', /semana/ 'week', /kil̄a/ 'month', and /wata/ 'year', and may infix the derivational suffixes /-ča/ and /-l̄a/ (6.3): /kunan punčaw/ 'today', /kunan wata/ 'this year'; /kanačal̄an/ 'right at this very moment'.

/niraq/ is special in that it always stands in directive construction with a preceding substantival phrase or adverbial as its axis: /runa niraq/ 'like a man'; /mesapi niraq/ 'as if on the table'.

3.2. Inflectional Categories. Both the substantive and the verb are inflected for substantive class reference, which for the substantive is to allocator by person and number, and for the verb is to actor, object, or both. The substantive is also inflected for number and case; the verb for aspect, tense or subordination, imperative, injunctive and conditional.

A substantive category of gender is marginal, appearing only in a very small class of borrowed adjectives.

3.21. Substantive Class Reference.

3.211. Suffixes. Inflection of the noun for allocation, and of the verb for actor and object reference, is in general effected by five personal suffixes as follows.

/-NIY/ refers to the speaker: /wasiy/ 'my house', /ñanniy/ 'my road' < /ñan/ 'road', /rikuni/ 'I see'.

/-NIYki/ refers to the addressee: /wasiki/ 'your house', /ñanniki/ 'your road', /rikunki/ 'you see'.

/-NIn/ refers to a person other than speaker or addressee: /wasin/ 'his, her, its house', /ñannin/ 'his, her, its road', /rikuptin/ 'if he sees'.

/-NINčik/ refers to a group which includes the addressee; when it is not preceded by the second person suffix (or imperative /-y/, or conditional /-waq/) this group also includes the speaker: /wasinčik/ 'our (incl.) house', /ñanninčik/ 'our (incl.) road', /rikunčik/ 'we (incl.) see'; /wasikičik/ 'your (pl.) house', /ñannikičik/ 'your (pl.) road', /rikunkičik/ 'you-all see'.

/-ku/ refers to a group which excludes the addressee; it follows /-NIY/ for first person plural exclusive, and follows /-NIn/ or zero for third person plural: /wasiyku/ 'our (excl.) house', /ñanniyku/'our (excl.) road', /rikuniku/ 'we (excl.) see'; /wasinku/ 'their house', /ñanninku/ 'their road', /rikunku/ 'they see'. /-ku/ refers only to humans.

These suffixes and combinations are added to all substantive stems except preadjectives and certain pronouns, and to all verbs except those in an impersonal transitive subclass. The verb, however, is inflected for third person only in subordinate forms. In the most frequent tense, the present, the word-final occurrence of the n-aspect yields an ending phonemically like that of the of the substantive inflected with /-NIn/: /taki/ 'song; to sing': /takin/ 'his song': /takin/ 'he sings'.

Person agreement is required between an actor represented by a substantival phrase and the personal-anaphoric verb ending, but number agreement is not: /runakuna takin/ or /runakuna takinku/ 'the men sing'.

Three additional suffixes occur only in verb endings as follows.

/-sA/ indicates first person future actor: /rikusaq/ 'I'll see', /rikusaqku/ 'we (excl.) will see'.

/-wa/ indicates that the speaker is the object of action by second or third person: /rikuwanki/ 'you see me', /rikuwan/ 'he sees me'. It also occurs in emphatic commands, preceding the second person or imperative ending, referring to the speaker's will: /upal̄a-/ 'to become quiet': /upal̄awanki/ and /upal̄away/ 'shut up!'.

/-su/ indicates: (a) first person plural inclusive future when followed by *n*-aspect and optionally by /-NINčik/; (b) addressee as object of third person action when followed by a second person ending. E.g. /rikusun/ or /rikusunčik/ 'we (incl.) will see; let's see'; /rikusunki/ 'he sees you', /rikusunkičik/ 'he sees you-all'.

Unlike the first five suffixes described, /-sA/, /-wa/, and /-su/ precede aspect and tense suffixes. /-wa/ and /-su/ also occur in nominalizations (6.1).

When the verb is inflected for both actor and object, person suffixes occur in several combinations not described above. The suffix of first person is followed by that of second person to indicate 1-2: /rikuyki/ 'I see you'. This combination may then be followed by /-NINčik/ to pluralize the object, or by /-ku/ to pluralize the actor: /rikuykičik/ 'I see you-all', /rikuykiku/ 'we (excl.) see you'. When second person acts on first, /-NINčik/ pluralizes the actor, and /-ku/ the object: /rikuwankičik/ 'you-all see me', /rikuwankiku/ 'you see us (excl.)'. When third person acts on first, both /-NINčik/ and /-ku/ pluralize the object: /rikuwančik/ 'he sees us (incl.)', /rikuwanku/ 'he sees us (excl.)'. /-wa/ precedes /-su/ to indicate 3-1 pl. incl. future: /rikuwasun/ 'he'll see us (incl.)'.

The actor-object combinations of verb inflection, as found in the present tense, are summarized below.

3-1 /-wan/: /rikuwan/ 'he sees me'
3-1 pl. excl. /-wanku/: /rikuwanku/ 'he sees us'
3-1 pl. incl. /-wančik/: /rikuwančik/ 'he sees us'
2-1 /-wanki/: /rikuwanki/ 'you see me'
2 pl.-1 /-wankičik/: /rikuwankičik/ 'you-all see me'
2-1 pl. excl. /-wankiku/: /rikuwankiku/ 'you see us'
3-2 /-sunki/: /rikusunki/ 'he sees you'
3-2 pl /-sunkičik/: /rikusunkičik/ 'he sees you-all'
1-2 /-Yki/: /rikuyki/ 'I see you'
1-2 pl. /-Ykičik/: /rikuykičik/ 'I see you-all'
1 pl. excl.-2 /-Ykiku/: /rikuykiku/ 'we see you'

Where the irregular first person future forms are involved we find:

3-1 pl. incl. /-wasun/ or /-wasunčik/:
/rikuwasun/ or /rikuwasunčik/ 'he'll see us'
1-2 /-sayki/ or /-sqayki/: /rikusayki/ or /rikusqayki/
'I'll see you'

Other future forms then follow the regular pattern, e.g. 3-1 /-wanqa/, 3-1 pl. excl. /-wanqaku/, or are built on /-sayki/, e.g. 1-2 pl. /-saykičik/, 1 pl. excl.-2 /-saykiku/.

Actor-object combinations other than those described are precluded by the rules: (a) the inflectional ending cannot indicate that the same person is both actor and object, or that the object is a group which includes the actor; (b) /-ku/ never refers to actor in an actor-object ending. When the actor is 3 pl., or the object 3, or both actor and object plural, the relationship can only be made explicit by the use of separate pronouns.

Special limitations on actor-object endings which accompany certain aspect-tense, subordinate, imperative, or conditional verb forms are described in 5.

3.212. Allomorphs.

/-NIY/ has four allomorphs. (A) /-y/ follows a noun stem ending in a vowel, follows the subordinating endings /-spa/ and /-pti/, and precedes /-man/ (conditional) and /-ki/ (in actor-object 1-2): /wasiy/ 'my house', /rikuspay/ 'if I see', /rikuyman/ 'I would see', /rikuyki/ 'I see you'. (B) /-niy/ follows a noun stem ending in a consonant: /ñanniy/ 'my road'. (C) /-i/ follows the allomorph /-n/ of the n-aspect (5.234): /rikuni/ 'I see'. (D) Zero occurs in the future ending /-saq/, and before /-ki/ when the preceding stem ends in /i/: /rikusaq/ 'I'll see', /niki/ 'I tell you' < /ni-/ 'to tell'.

/-NIYki/ has three allomorphs. (A) /-yki/ follows a noun stem ending in /a/ or /u/, and follows the subordinate ending /-spa/: /imayki/ 'your something, your possession'; /rikuspayki/ 'if you see'. (B) /-niki/ follows a noun stem ending in a consonant: /ñanniki/ 'your road'. (C) /-ki/ occurs elsewhere, e.g. /wasiki/ 'your house'; /rikunki/ 'you see'; /rikuyki/ 'I see you': /rikuptiki/ 'if you see'.

/-NIn/ has two allomorphs. (A) /-n/ follows a noun stem ending in a vowel, and follows the subordinating endings /-spa/ and /-pti/: /wasin/ 'his house'; /rikuspan/ 'if he sees'.

(B)/-nin/ follows a noun stem ending in a consonant: /ñannin/ 'his road'.

/-NINčik/ has three allomorphs. (A) /-nčik/ follows a noun stem ending in a vowel, and follows the subordinating endings: /wasinčik/ 'our (incl.) house'; /rikuspančik/'if we (incl.) see'. (B) /-ninčik/ follows a noun stem ending is a consonant: /ñanninčik/ 'our (incl.) road'. (C) /-čik/ occurs elsewhere, e.g. /rikunčik/ 'we (incl.) see'; /rikusunkičik/ 'he sees you-all'.

/-sA/ has two allomorphs. (A) /-sa/ precedes the allomorph /-q/ of the tense suffix /-QA/: /rikusaq/ 'I'll see'. (B) /-s/ precedes the allomorph /-qa/ (in free alternation with /-a/) of /-QA/: /rikusqayki/ 'I'll see you'.

3.22. Number. The noun stem in Quechua is ambiguous as to number, and the suffix /-kuna/ is added for explicit plural: /wasikuna/ 'houses', /wasiykuna/ 'my houses', /wasikičikkuna/ 'your (pl.) houses'. /-kuna/ follows all suffixes of allocation except /-ku/.

3.23. Case. The category of case is represented by a set of eleven case suffixes, illustrated as follows with the stem /wasi/:

/wasipa/ 'of the house, the house's'
/wasita/ 'the house (acc.), to the house'
/wasipi/ 'in, on the house'
/wasiwan/ 'with the house'
/wasipaq/ 'for the house'
/wasiman/ 'to the house, into the house'

/wasimanta/ 'from the house, about the house'

/wasikama/ 'as fas as the house'

/wasipura/ 'among houses'

/wasirayku/ 'because of the house'

/wasinka/ 'houses for each member of a group'

Certain combinations of case suffixes are permitted. When a noun phrase inflected for genitive substitutes for the thing possessed, it is regularly inflected for case: /wasipapi/ 'in the house's'. /-wan/ follows other case suffixes to indicate additive construction: /wasitawan tuřita/ 'to the house to the tower'. A few other combinations also occur, e.g. /paypaqrayku/ 'for and because of him'.

3.24. Gender. Grammatical gender is not native to Quechua. Natural gender is differentiated in stems, e.g. /l̃umčuy/ 'daughter-in-law': /masa/ 'son-in-law', or by noun phrases, e.g. /urqu kuči/ 'male pig' : /čina kuči/ 'female pig'. Some kinship terms differentiate sex of both persons involved in the relationship:

man's	woman's	
wawqi	turi	'brother'
pani	ñaña	'sister'

A small number of borrowed adjectives are inflected for grammatical gender: /loko/ 'crazy (male)' : /loka/ 'crazy (female)' (4.123).

3.25. Aspect, Tense, and Subordination. The term "aspect" is assigned to a category of four monophonemic morphemes /-n/, /-p/, /-s/, /-r/, which generally follow the verb stem and the person suffixes /-wa/, /-su/, and /-sA/, and precede tense or subordinating suffixes. The meanings of these suffixes are difficult to specify because of their close association with tense and subordination. The n-aspect is special in that it precedes person endings (except /-wa/, /-su/, /-sA/) in all tenses, and in that it occurs without an accompanying tense or subordinating suffix in the present tense, as seen in 3.21.

The non-present tense suffix /-QA/ follows aspect suffixes to yield three tenses as follows: future /rikunqa/ 'he will see'; simple past /rikurqa/ 'he saw'; quotative past /rikusqa/ 'he saw (I've been told)'. A fifth tense, the iterative past, is represented by a verbal phrase in which a nominalization modifies a present or simple past form to /ka-/ 'to be': /rikuq kanki/ 'you used to see'.

The subordinating suffixes /-pa/ and /-tiN/ follow aspect suffixes to yield dependent verbs which contrast as to both person and time relationships relative to the independent verb, as follows: /rikuspan/ 'when, because he (same actor as in main clause) saw'; /rikuptin/ 'when, because, if he (different actor than in main clause) saw'; /rikustin/ 'while he (same actor as in main clause) was seeing'. Two layers of dependent verbs occur in /rikustin kačkaptin/ 'while he (different actor than in main clause) was seeing', which completes the pattern implied by the other forms.

3.26. Imperative, Injunctive, and Conditional.

The imperative suffix /-y/ immediately follows the stem or the person suffix /-wa/: /rikuy/ 'see!', /rikuway/ 'see me!'.

The injunctive suffix /-ču/ follows the stem or /-wa/, and precedes the n-aspect: /rikučun/ 'may he see'.

A regular conditional in all persons is formed by the addition of /-man/ to the present tense forms, preceding /-ku/ but following other person suffixes. It indicates conditional, possible, or advisable action: /rikunman/ 'he would, might, should see', /rikuymanku/ 'we (excl.) would, might, should see', /rikusunkiman/ 'he would, might, should see you'. There are also alternative forms for the second person and the first person inclusive plural with the respective suffixes /-waq/ and /-čwan/ immediately following the stem : /rikuwaq/ 'you would, might, should see'.

A conditional form followed by the third person simple past form of /ka-/ gives the past conditional: /rikunkiman karqa/ 'you would, might, should have seen'.

3.3. Derivation and Enclitics. There are certain other highly productive systems, which we shall class as derivation and enclisis. It is largely because of the number of derivational suffixes and of the many possible layers of derivation within the word that the maximum paradigm of a Quechua stem may involve several billion forms.

3.31. Derivation. The suffixes of both substantive and verb derivation are of three types: (a) restrictive or attributive suffixes; (b) governing suffixes which yield a different part of speech (nominalizers and verbalizers);

and (c) governing suffixes which do not change the part of speech. Compounding and reduplication also occur, but are relatively unproductive. Irregular derivatives are treated in appendices.

Four nominalizers yield abstract nouns referring to (a) action without aspectual limitation (infinitive); (b) action as a future or potential state, or the object, place, or instrument of such action; (c) action as a completed state, or the object, place, or instrument of such action; and (d) agent of action. Illustrating these with the stem /riku-/ 'to see', we have: (a) /rikuy/ 'seeing, to see'; (b) /rikuna/ 'that one is to see, what one is to see, where one is to see, what one can see with'; (c) /rikusqa/ 'that one saw or sees, what one saw or sees, where one saw or sees, what one saw with'; and (d) /rikuq/ 'he who sees'.

There are three restrictive suffixes ocurring with substantives: diminutive /-ča/, limitative /-l̄a/, and augmentative /-su/. E.g. /wasiča/ 'little house'.

Governing suffixes which derive substantives from other substantives indicate (a) possessor of the referent of the underlying stem; (b) multiple possession of this referent; (c) companion of, or object adjacent to, this referent; and (d) ten-cent units. For example: (a) /wasi/ 'house': /wasiyuq/ 'landlord'; (b) /wasisapa/ 'having many houses'; (c)/wasintin/ 'that which has a house next to it'; and (d) /iskay/ 'two': /iskayřal/ 'twenty cents'.

Two verbalizers indicate creation and actualization of the referent of the underlying stem: /wasi/ 'house': /wasiča-/ 'to make a house'; /sumaq/ 'pretty': /sumaqya-/ 'to become pretty'.

Governing and restrictive suffixes occurring with verb stems constitute a single system which we shall refer to as the modal suffix system. Involving sixteen suffixes in roughly as many positions, this system permits thousands of complex stems or "bases" from each simple verb stem; though almost completely regular, its distributional rules are complex and it represents by far the most intricate area of Quechua morphology. Complex stems containing twelve or more modal suffixes are recognized by the native speaker as being grammatically correct, but combinations of more than six are very rare in normal speech. Some of these suffixes are seen below with the stem /riku-/ 'to see' in the third person present.

/rikupan/ 'he sees again'
/rikurayan/ 'he sees continually'
/rikurun/ 'he's just seen, he sees urgently'
/rikukun/ 'he sees himself, he sees it for himself'
/rikučin/ 'he has someone see'
/rikuysin/ 'he helps someone see'
/rikupun/ 'he sees it for someone'
/rikunakun/ 'he and someone see each other'
/rikumun/ 'he sees there, he goes to see'
/rikučkan/ 'he is seeing'

3.32. Enclitics. This system contains thirteen bound morphemes in seven positions, following suffixes and occurring with all parts of speech. Enclitics never occur within a substantival phrase built by attributive construction. Examples of enclitics are:

/-ña/ 'already'
/-raq/ 'still'
/-puni/ 'definitely'
/-qa/ (topic of clause)
/-m/ ~ /-mi/ (comment of clause: speaker knows the statement to be true)
/-s/ ~ /-si/ (comment of clause: speaker is reporting)
/-ču/ (negative- interrogative)
/-iki/ (apologetic)

3.4. Syntax. Fixed order of constituents occurs in Quechua syntax only in the substantival phrase built by attributive construction. This type of phrase may add inflectional and derivational suffixes in the same manner as do stems, and is never interrupted by enclitics. The constituents of verb phrases and of noun phrases built by coordinate constructions (additive, alternative, and appositive) show free order and may add enclitics, as do the constituents of most exocentric constructions.

Clauses are classed as independent and subordinate, and as intransitive, transitive, and equational. All transitive as well as intransitive verbs are permitted in intransitive clauses. A special characteristic of the equational clause is that it may be verbless, since the morphologically regular third person present of /ka-/ 'to be' occurs only in intransitive clauses with the meaning 'there is'. Thus: /wasi/ 'house', /sumaq/ 'beautiful': /wasiqa sumaqmi/ 'the house (topic) is beautiful (comment)'.

The sentence may contain a large number of clauses. Dependent clauses may occur in several layers, usually preceding the independent clause. Several independent clauses may occur paratactically in the same sentence, in which case their internal boundaries are marked by the level terminal contour; in this study semicolon rather than comma is written in such cases.

CHAPTER 4: SUBSTANTIVE CATEGORIES

4.1. *Types of Substantives*. Substantive stems are those which may add the case suffix /-ta/. The subclasses are *nouns*, *adjectives*, *preadjectives*, *numerals*, *pronouns*, *interrogative-indefinites*, and several small classes of ambivalent substantives.

4.11. *Nouns*. Nouns are inflected for allocation, number, and case. They are never preceded by preadjectives (except idiomatically), and lack the defining characteristics of the other substantive classes. Several subclasses are distinguished.

4.111. *Regular Nouns (Nr)*. This class includes all nouns not listed in 1.112-4; e.g. /wasi/ 'house': /wasiy/ 'my house', /wasiypi/ 'at my house', /wasikuna/ 'houses', /wasiykunapi/ 'in my houses'.

4.112. *Uninflected Adverbial Nouns (Na)*. Most nouns referring to time and a few others may occur adverbially without inflectional ending. E.g. /tuta/ 'night': /tuta hamusaq/ 'I will come at night'; /l̄iw/ 'everything, everybody': /l̄iw mil̄arukusqa/ 'she absolutely hated him'. The members of this class are:

/čisi/ 'last night'
/hina/ 'manner, approximation; like, about'
/huk/ 'one, a, some; once, once again'
/kaq/ 'being; again'
/kil̄a/ 'moon, month; in the month'

/kuti/ 'occasion' (e.g. /iskay kuti/ 'twice')
/l̃iw/ 'everything, everybody; completely'
/minča/ 'the day after tomorrow, two days later'
/ñaqa/ 'a brief previous period; a little while ago'
/ora/ 'hour; at the hour'
/pača/ 'world, era, circumstance, condition, case'
/paqarin/ 'tomorrow'
/punčaw/ 'daylight, day; by day'
/qaynimpa/ 'the day before yesterday'
/sapa/ 'each, every; each time'
/semana/ 'week; in the week'
/tařdi/ 'afternoon; in the afternoon'
/tempu/ 'time, season; in the season'
/tuta/ 'darkness, night; by dark, at night'
/unay/ 'delay; for a long time'
/wata/ 'year; in the year'
/yanqa/ or /ñanqa/ 'foolishness; capriciously, in vain, foolishly, unjustly'
/yapa/ 'addition, repetition; again'

Some time nouns not classified as Na are /aku/ 'coca break; a quarter of a day', /čiraw/ 'dry season, winter', /paqarinnintin/ 'the following day', and /řatu/ 'a while'.

4.113. Gender Nouns (Ng). A few nouns recently borrowed from Spanish come in pairs, one referring to male and the other to female: /amigu/ : /amiga/ 'friend'; /kompañeru/ : /kompañera/ 'companion; mate in trial marriage'; /señoř/ : /señora/ 'gentleman, husband; lady, wife'; /solteru/ :

/soltera/ 'single person, bachelor'; /biyudo/ : /biyuda/ 'widower, widow'.

4.114. Two nouns (Nm) always occur preceded by another noun: /masi/ 'companion, -mate', and /niq/ 'thing, place, that which is -'. E.g. /wasi/ 'house', /wasi masi/ 'one who lives in the same house, roommate'; /rimaq/ 'speaker', /rimaq masi/ 'confidant'; /mikuq/ 'he who eats', /mikuq masi/ 'one who accompanies another to eat'; /kay/ 'this', /kay niqman/ 'hither'; /hatun/ 'big', /hatun niq/ 'a big one'.

4.12. Adjectives. The adjective may be preceded by a preadjective and, unlike nouns (except for some Na, see 10.1122) may occur adverbially in the ta-case. Although adjectives are inflected for the same categories as are nouns when substituting for noun phrases, they are regularly inflected only for the ta- and pi-cases, or for third person allocation. There are three classes of adjectives.

4.121. Regular Adjectives (Ar). This class includes those adjectives not listed below. E.g. /sumaq/ 'beautiful', /sumaq sipas/ 'beautiful girl', /sumaqta ruwanki/ 'you do it nicely', /sumaqnin/ 'the best one'; /yana/ 'black', /yanata tiñira/ 'he dyed it black'. The borrowed names of the days and months are classed as Ar.

4.122. Uninflected Adverbial Adjectives (Aa). A few adjectives may occur adverbially without inflectional ending: /hawka/ 'calm, calmly', /trankilu/ 'peaceful, peacefully', /fasil/ 'easy, easily', /kuska/ 'together', /yaqa/ 'almost, maybe'; /hawka yačan/ 'he lives quietly'.

4.123. Gender Adjectives (Ag). A few borrowed adjectives are inflected for masculine and feminine gender and modify nouns naming respectively male and female humans or animals: /loko/, /loka/ 'crazy'; /kasado/, /kasada/ 'married'; /seloso/, /selosa/ 'jealous': /loko maqta/ 'crazy boy', /loka sipas/ 'crazy girl'.

4.13. Preadjectives (PA). The members of this class precede adjectives and nominalizations, and occur adverbially in the ta-case.

The eight regular preadjectives are: /anča/ 'very; very much', /aswan/ 'more', /l̃umpay/ 'too, very, gravely; too much', /nisyu/ 'strongly, very, hard, with difficulty', /demas/ 'too; too much', /kusa/ 'well, nicely', /čikačačan/ 'very great(ly)', and /paqway/ 'completely'. E.g. /anča sumaq/ 'very beautiful', /ančata ruwan/ 'he does a lot'; /l̃umpay unqusqa/ 'gravely ill', /l̃umpayta l̃amkan/ 'he works too much'.

Another member of this class takes the shape of a following adjective, preadjective, or numeral and (a) optionally drops a final consonant, (b) adds /y/ to each word if the stem ends in a vowel, unless the stem is one of a small subclass enumerated below. E.g. /hatun/ 'big', /hatu-hatun/ or /hatun-hatun/ 'very big'; /qanra/ 'dirty', /qanray-qanray/ 'very dirty'; /nisyuy-nisyuy/ 'very strongly'; /iskay/ 'two', /iska-iskaymanta/ 'two by two, by twos'. Stems which do not add /y/ in this construction include /taksa/ 'small', /piña/ 'angry', /pisi/ 'few', /sasa/ 'difficult', /sakri/ 'astute',

/karu/ 'far', /sinka/ 'drunk', and /kuska/ 'together': /karu-karu/ 'very far'.

4.14. Numerals. Two sets of numerals, one for counting hours (and by some persons also currency) and the other general, are defined by the phrase structure in which they occur.

4.141. General Numerals. The members of this class are subgrouped as (a) unit numerals (NUu): /huk/ 'one', /iskay/ 'two', /kimsa/ 'three', /tawa/ 'four', /pičqa/ 'five', /suqta/ 'six', /qančis/ 'seven', /pusaq/ 'eight', /isqun/ 'nine'; (b) group numerals (NUg): /čunka/ 'ten', /pačak/ 'hundred', /waranqa/ 'thousand'. A member of either class may stand in attributive construction with a following noun phrase, or in alternative construction with another member of the same class. An NUu also stands in attributive construction with a following NUg, and in additive construction with a preceding NUg. In the latter case the final member of the phrase, whether noun or NUu, adds the derivational suffix /-yuq/~/-niyuq/ (6.22). E.g. /iskay wasi/ 'two houses', /iskay čunka/ 'twenty', /iskay kimsa/ 'two or three', /čunka iskayniyuq/ 'twelve', /waranqa isqun pačak suqta čunka tawayuq/ '1964'.

4.142. Time Numerals (NUt). This class includes /una/ 'one (o'clock)', /dos/ 'two', /tres/ 'three', /kwatru/ 'four', /sinku/ 'five', /seyis/ 'six', /seti/ 'seven', /uču/ 'eight', /nuybi/ 'nine', /des/ 'ten', /unse/ 'eleven', and /dusi/ 'twelve'. A member of this class is always preceded by the particle /la/~/las/ (3.145), /la/ occurring before /una/, and /las/ occurring before /dos/ through /dusi/. An NUt may stand in additive construction with either of the adjectives /kwartu/ 'quarter' and /medya/ 'half', with the intervening particle /i/ 'and'. E.g. /las sinku/ 'five o'clock', /las sinku i medya/ 'five thirty'.

4.15. Pronouns.

4.151. Personal Pronouns (PROp). Three stems belong to this class: /ñuqa/ 'I' is inflected for number, the plural distinguishing inclusive /ñuqančik/ 'we' and exclusive /ñuqayku/ 'we'; /qam/ 'you' and /pay/ 'he, she' are inflected for plural number: /qamkuna/ 'you-all', /paykuna/ 'they'.

/ñuqa/ is idiomatically inflected for first person in /ñuqayku/ and in /ñuqal̄ay/ 'lonely me', /ñuqal̄aymi/ 'its just me' (answer to 'who's there?').

4.152. Demonstrative Pronouns (PROdem). The stems/kay/ 'this', /čay/ 'that' (general), and /wak/ 'that' (distant) may substitute for a phrase or clause and may stand in attributive construction with a following noun phrase. E.g. /čaymi gustawan/ 'that pleases me'; /čay sumaq sipas/ 'that pretty girl'.

4.153. Dependent Pronouns (PROdep). The following pronouns occur only with person inflection: /kiki-/ 'one himself', /sapa-/ 'one alone; one's only -', /l̄apa-/ and /l̄iwča-/ (plural person only) 'all of us, you, them', /kuska-/ (plural person only) 'we, you, they together', /waki-/ (third person only) 'some, someone; another'. E.g. /kikiy risaq/ 'I myself will go', /sapal̄an čurin/ 'his only child', /l̄apančik risun/ 'let's all of us (incl.) go'. All of these stems except

/kiki-/ are ambivalent, that is, occur also as free forms which function as members of noun or adjective classes (see 4.18).

Two additional stems /qayl̄a-/ 'one's presence' and /yura-/ 'one's proper place, place of origin' differ from those above in that they never occur as actors agreeing in person with the verb ending; e.g. /qayl̄aymanta aparqa/ 'he took it from my presence', /yuranman čuray/ 'put it in its proper place!'.

4.16. Interrogative-Indefinites (II). The members of this class are characterized by occurrence as lone or initial members of a noun phrase which regularly adds one of the enclitics /-taq/ or /-m/∼/-mi/; all questions requiring more than a yes-no answer and occurring with intonation /$^{241}\downarrow$/ are introduced by II stems. These stems are subclassed as (a) those which function as pronouns or, when inflected for case, as pro-adverbs, and (b) those which function only as pro-adverbs. The second type includes irregularly derived or inflected forms built on II stems of the pronoun type.

4.161. The pronominal II stems are: /ima/ 'what', /imay/ 'what' (hour, day, etc., when referring to present or future time), /pi/ 'who', /may/ 'what (place), where', /mayčika/ 'what (number), how great', /hayka/ 'what (amount) how much', /mayqin/ or /mayqan/ 'what, which'. Examples of these stems in interrogative, non-interrogative pronominal, and indefinite functions: /pitaq riman/ or /pim riman/ 'who speaks?', /pimantataq riman/ 'about whom does he speak?'; /yačani pi rimasqanta/ 'I know who spoke'; /mana pipas rimanču/ 'nobody speaks'; /imataq wasi/ 'what is a house?', /ima wasitaq/ 'what house?'.

These stems are also exclamatory in expressions such as /ima sumaq wasi/ 'what a beautiful house!'.

4.162. The adverbial II stems are: /imayna/ 'how', /imaynanka/ (equivalent to /haykanka/) 'how much for or from each member of a group', /imaynapi/ 'how much', /mayna/ 'what size, how large', /maylaw/ 'whence', /haykap/ or /haykapi/ 'when', /haykayna/ 'about how much', /imayniraq/ 'how, like what', /imanasqa/ 'why'. Examples are: /imaynam kačkanki/ 'how are you?', /maylaw kanki/ 'where are you from?', /imaynankataq časkirankičik/ 'how much did each of you get?', /haykaptaq riman/ 'when does he speak?'; /manam haykapipas rimanču/ 'he never speaks', /imaynankal̄apas quykuy/ 'give as much as each of you can'.

4.17. The stem /na/ 'thingamajig' is unique in that it may replace any substantive as a hesitation form while the desired word is being sought. /na/ is inflected for all substantive categories. E.g. /čay napi, čay wasipi/ 'in that, uh, in that house'.

4.18. A small number of substantive stems share the privileges of occurrence of more than one of the classes defined above. Examples of these are:

Nr-Ar /miski/ 'sweet', /yana/ 'black; darling',
/wira/ 'fat', /l̄awl̄i/ (a small thorny shrub);
'skinny'

Nr-II /ima/ 'thing, possession, characteristic, what'

Nr-PROdep /waki/ 'fraction; some, another'

Na-Ar /tar̆di/ 'afternoon; late'

Na-PROdep /sapa/ 'each, each time; one alone'

Ar-PROdep /l̄apa/ 'all; all of us, you, them'

Aa-PROdep /kuska/ 'together; we, you, they together'

Na-N̄Uu /huk/ 'once; a, some; one'

4.2. Substantive Inflection.

4.21. Allocation. Person suffixes immediately follow stems of the following classes: noun, adjective, general numeral (third or plural person), dependent pronoun (with limitations noted in 4.153), demonstrative pronoun, and pronominal interrogative-indefinite. To the general distributional and morphophonemic statement of 3.21 we here specify several limitations and exceptions.

4.211. With adjectives and numerals the third person suffix functions much like the determiners of Indo-European languages, limiting the referent of a modified stem relative to the quality or quantity named by the modifier:

/sumaq kuka/ 'good coca' : /sumaqnin kuka/ 'the good (or best) coca'

/kimsa/ 'three' : /kimsanta qatiy/ 'drive the three of them, drive all three of them'

Infrequently adjectives occur with person other than third, indicating possession of something with the quality named:

/sumaqniki/ 'your pretty one'

4.212. All general numerals except /huk/ 'one' are inflected for plural person and function as pronouns:

/iskaynin̆cik/ 'the two of us (incl.)'

/kimsanku/ 'the three of them'

4.213. With demonstrative pronouns third person generalizes the range of the referent when place is involved.

/kaypi/ 'here': /kaynimpi/ 'around here' (as well as 'in this thing of his')

4.214. Examples of the regular occurrence of person suffixes with pronominal interrogative-indefinite stems are:

/haykaykitaq kačkan/ 'how many of yours are there, how many do you have?'

/imaykitataq apamunki/ 'what of yours will you bring?'

The occurrence of third person with /may/ is idiomatic:

/maytataq/ 'to where?' : /maynintataq/ 'by what route?'

/maymantaq/ 'to where, in what direction?' : /mayninmantaq/ 'to what part of it?'

The only morphophonemic irregularity involving person suffixes is seen when /pi/ 'who' adds the allomorphs normally occurring with stems ending in consonants; a consonant-final stem allomorph /piy/ in these forms is historically recorded.

/piniy/ 'my someone, someone who cares for me'

4.22. Number. Nouns, adjectives (as phrase substitutes), the personal pronouns /qam/ and /pay/, demonstrative pronouns, and pronominal interrogative-indefinites are pluralized with the suffix /-kuna/ following the stem with or without a person suffix or suffixes except /-ku/, and preceding case suffixes.

/wasikuna/ 'houses', /wasikikuna/ 'your houses',
/wasikičikkunaman/ 'to your (pl.) houses'

/papaykiqa hatunkunam kasqa/ 'your potatoes are big ones'

/pikunataq/ 'who (pl.)?'

/-kuna/ is in no sense obligatory; actor and verb need not agree in number, and /-kuna/ is often omitted in a context where the number is unambiguous. Noun phrases introduced by numerals or quantifying adjectives, or referring to body parts that are normally multiple, regularly omit /-kuna/. E.g. /kimsa wasi/ 'three houses', /as wasi/ 'few houses', /ačka wasi/ 'lots of houses', /ñawin/ 'his eyes'. /-kuna/ is more frequent than /-ku/ in contexts involving plural referent and plural possessor of the exclusive type, and complete unambiguity in such cases requires the addition of a plural pronoun: /wasiykuna/ 'my houses' or 'our (excl.) houses'; /ñuqaykupa wasiykuna/ 'our (excl.) houses'.

4.23. Case. The category of case is represented by a set of eleven suffixes, most of which are mutually exclusive. Permitted combinations are described in 4.232.

4.231. Individual Case Suffixes.

4.23101. /-ta/ with a noun stem indicates object or goal of a transitive verb. In the case of a motion verb, the goal is marked with /-ta/ only when the actor is human with the sole exception of questions introduced by /maynintataq/ as in the last example below.

/wasita qawan/ 'he watches the house'

/wasita rin/ 'he goes to the house'

/l̄aqtatam paračkan/ 'its raining on the town'

/qusantam wil̄arqa/ 'she told her husband'

/wasita l̄uqsinki/ 'you'll leave by way of the house'

/maynintataq rin kay ñan/ 'what way does this road go?'

/-ta/ indicates adverbial function with a member of Ar, NUt, PA, or Na, and with the ADV /kunan/ or /kanan/ 'now'. /-ta/ is optional with /kunan/ or /kanan/ and with most Na stems, but is prohibited or considered awkward with certain Na (10.1122). The only other case suffixes which form regular adverbials from Ar stems are /-pi/ (4.23102) and /-man/ (4.23104).

/al̄in/ 'good': /al̄inta ruwan/ 'he does well'

/las nuybitam hamunqa/ 'he'll come at nine'

/l̄umpaytam nanawan/ 'it hurts me too much'

/punčawta/ or /punčaw/ 'by day'

/kanantam čayamunqa/ 'he'll arrive here now'

Two common idioms with /-ta/ are:

/čay-čayta/ 'approximately'

/waki-wakil̄anta/ 'little by little'

See also /-tawan/ (4.2323); /-takama/, /-purata/ (4.2322).

4.23102. /-pi/ indicates location, and is glossed 'in, on, at, within, upon, while' (with nominalizations) or 'during' (with names of days, months, and /čiraw/ 'dry season').

/wasipi/ 'in, at, on the house'

/suyasqampi/ 'while he waited'

/setembripi/ or /setembri kil̄api/ 'in, during September'

With adjectives /-pi/ indicates adverbial function with specific reference to location:

/al̄impi wataruy/ 'tie it well (in a good place)'

/katulika/ 'religious, non-secular': /katulikapi kasarakunqa/ 'they'll get married in church'

Some idioms with /-pi/ are:

/haykapi/ 'when'

/imaynapi/ 'how much'

/baratul̄api rantiku-/ 'to sell cheaply'

/nisqapi hina/ 'according to what is said'

See also /-piwan/ (4.2323) and /-pikama/ (4.2322).

4.23103. /-pa/ marks the possessive or genitive case, and when introducing a noun phrase requires person agreement of the head:

/wasipa/ 'of the house, the house's'

/runapa wasin/ 'the person's house'

/ñuqapa taytaypa wasin/ 'my father's house'

A set of adverbials formed with /-pa/ includes:

/waqta/ 'side (surface)': /waqtampa/ 'on its side, sideways'

/kurku/ 'bent': /kurkumpa/ 'bent over; crestfallen'

/saya-/ 'to stand': /sayampa/ 'vertical'

/tikra-/ 'to overturn': /tikrampa/ 'upside-down'

/uya/ 'face': /uyampa/ 'face-down'

/čaka/ 'bridge': /čakampa/ 'supported at each end, horizontal(ly)'

/kumpa/ 'knocked down': /kumpampa/ 'lying on the ground, horizontal(ly)'

/ankal̄a-/ 'to lie face-down': /ankal̄ampa/ 'face-down, upside-down'

/siki/ 'base, bottom, rump': /sikimpa/ 'on its bottom, bottom-first'

/uma/ 'head': /umampa/ 'upside-down'

/kinray/ 'side' (direction): /kinrampa/ 'sideways'

/-pa/ precedes other case suffixes in zero anaphora (4.2321), and is identified with the subordinator /-pa/ in verb inflection (5.24). A number of irregularly derived noun stems with /-pa/ are listed in Appendix 1.

4.23104. /-man/ indicates direction, and is glossed 'to, toward, into, onto, for (to get)', or 'according to' (when followed by /hina/ 'like'). With the goal of a motion verb /-man/ is a near equivalent of /-ta/, but the latter is prohibited when the actor of the verb is non-human. An adverbial with /-man/ may modify the base /yaykumu-/ 'to enter hither', but not the stem /yayku-/ 'to enter' (implying direction away from the speaker). With Na nouns /-man/ specifies future time.

/kay ñanmi ayakučuman riq/ 'this road goes to Ayacucho'

/čayman ričkan/ (or /čayta ričkan/) 'he's going thither'

/ñuqaman qumuway/ 'give it to me!'

/yakuman rin/ 'he goes for water'

/payman hina/ 'according to him'

/minčaman/ 'on the day after tomorrow'

/wataman/ 'next year'

Two idioms with /-man/ are:

/apurawman/ 'quickly'

/tumpa/ 'a little': /tumpal̄aman/ 'slowly'

4.23105. /-manta/ is variously glossed 'from, about, concerning, than, instead of, after, made of, by':

/wasimanta l̄uqsin/ 'he leaves the house'

/wasimanta riman/ 'he speaks about the house'

/qawani payta l̄uqsinanmanta/ 'I'm watching him so that he doesn't leave' (lit. 'I watch him concerning his potential leaving')

/kay sumaqmi čaymanta/ 'this is prettier than that'

/paymi rinqa ñuqamanta/ 'he'll go in my stead'

/qawarusqaymanta/ 'after I saw it'; c.f.

/qawarusqaymanta pača/ 'since I saw it'

/feřumantam/ 'its made of iron'

/payta brasunmanta hapiruni/ 'I grabbed him by the arm'

Two idioms with /-manta/ are:

/al̄in/ 'good': /al̄il̄amanta/ 'slowly, carefully'

/puñu-/ 'to sleep': /puñuymanta kačka-/ 'to be about to sleep'

See also /-mantakama/ (4.2322).

4.23106. /-wan/ indicates accompaniment or means, and is glossed 'with, and, by means of, accompanying, for, by':

/ñuqawanmi rin/ 'he goes with me'
/wasiwan tuři/ 'the house with (and) the tower'
/lampawan l̄amkačkan/ 'he's working with the hoe'
/kukawan kamyananĉikpaq/ 'for us to exchange for coca, in order that we exchange for coca'
/ama engañačiwayču čay runawan/ 'don't let me be cheated by that man!'
/payqa qawasqa kasqa huwansituwanmi/ 'he was seen by Johnny'

See also /-purawan/ (4.2322) and the non-case function of /-wan/ following other case suffixes (4.2323).

4.23107. /-paq/ indicates purpose or beneficiary, and is glossed 'for, in order to' (with na-nominalization), 'about to' (with y-nominalization and /kačka-/ 'to be'), 'that' (with na-nominalization and VTc verb), or 'as'.

/qaml̄apaqmi/ 'its just for you'
/amigumpaqmi rimapunqa/ 'he'll speak for his friend' (in his behalf or in his stead)
/mikunampaq/ 'to eat, in order for him to eat'
/mikuypaq kačkan/ 'he is about to eat'
/rimanampaq nin/ 'he says he will speak'
/sapaq l̄amkaqpaqmi kanki/ 'you are (meant) as a different worker' (for a different kind of work)

See also /-paqrayku/ (4.2322).

4.23108. /-rayku/ indicates causality, and is glossed 'because of, because'.

/ñuqarayku/ 'because of me'

/munasqayrayku/ 'because I want to'

/qawananrayku/ 'for the reason of seeing, in order to see'

See also /-paqrayku/ (4.2322).

4.23109. /-kama/ is glossed 'up to, as far as, until', or 'while' (with na-nominalization), or indicates total correspondence of the members of a group with a stated attribute: 'each one of them'.

/wasikama/ 'as far as the house'

/miskin l̃uqsinankama/ 'till its essence comes out'

/ñuqa kaypi suyanaykama/ 'while I wait here'

/yaqa huk akukama/ 'almost a quarter of a day'

/qarikamamá kanqa/ 'they'll all be boys'

/al̃in runakamam kanku/ 'they're all good people'

/hatun runakunam botasniyuqkama/ 'big men, all wearing boots'

The borrowed pronoun /asta/ 'until' is used redundantly with /-kama/:

/asta uktubri kil̃a tukuykama/ 'until finishing in October'

See also /-pikama/ and /-mantakama/ (4.2322).

4.23110. /-pura/ indicates location of a thing among others of its kind, and is usually glossed 'among'. When the things involved are not of the same kind the stem /čawpi/

'center, midst' indicates a similar relationship.

/amigumpura kačkan/ 'they are among friends'; but
/wasi čawpipi kačkan/ 'he is among the houses'

/ñuqančikpura kačkančik/ 'we (incl.) are by ourselves'

/kikinčikpura qunakurančik papakunata/ 'we exchanged potatoes among ourselves'

See also /-purawan/ and /-purata/ (4.2322).

4.23111. /-NInka/ (postconsonantal /-ninka/, postvocalic /-nka/) occurring only with quantifying phrases modifying verbs which imply distribution or receiving indicates equal distribution among members of a group:

/haykankataq časkirankičik/ 'how much did each of you receive?

/iskayninka quwančik/ 'he gives us each two'

/kimsanka apamunqa/ 'he'll bring three for each'

/tawařalninka qun/ 'he gives them each forty cents'

With verbs of other meanings this relationship is indicated by the stem /sapakama/ 'each one' plus case, as in

/iskaywanmi hamun sapakamapaq/ 'he comes with two for each one'

4.23112. Positions and directions more specific than those indicated by /-pi/, /-man/, and /-manta/ alone are expressed by noun phrases having as heads nouns which name relative positions. The commonest such nouns are: /qawa/ or /hawa/ 'outside, topside', /pata/ 'topside', /patan/ 'edge', /uku/ 'interior', /čawpi/ 'center, midst', /punta/

and /čimpa/ 'front', /qipa/ 'rear', /ñawpaq/ 'position ahead', /siki/ 'base, bottom', /ladu/ 'position beside', /kinray/ 'direction to the side', /hanay/ 'position above', and /uray/ 'position below'. Examples of these constructions are:

/wasi qawapi/ 'outside or on top of the house'
/wasi ukupi/ 'inside the house'
/ñampa ladunman/ 'to the side of the road'
/mul̃i sikiman/ 'to the base of a molle tree'
/mesa uraymanta/ 'from under the table'

4.232. Combinations of Case Suffixes.

4.2321. Secondary Inflection of the Genitive. A Noun phrase in the *pa*-case may function as an anaphoric substitute for the thing possessed, in which case it is inflected for the same categories as is the stem:

/bisintipata/ 'to Vincent's; Vincent's (acc.)'
/ñuqapamanta rin/ 'he goes from my (place)'
/paypapi/ 'in his; at his (place)'

4.2322. Six additional case combinations are: /-paqrayku/ 'for and because of', /-purawan/ 'one for another', /-purata/ (objects involved in reciprocal action), /-pikama/ 'one from another', /-mantakama/ 'from each', and /-takama/ 'all, only (acc.)':

/munasqaypaqrayku/ 'for and because of the one I love'
/wasipurawan kamyasun/ 'let's exchange houses'
/takanačin warmapurata/ 'he makes the boys fight

among themselves'

/karupikamam wasinku/ 'their houses are far apart'

/sapamantakama/ 'from each one of them'

/wasitakama rikuni/ 'I see only houses'

4.2323. /-wan/ and /-piwan/ in Additive Constructions.

/-wan/ 'with' and /-piwan/ 'also with' may have case function or may mark additive construction with a following phrase. /-wan/ follows other case suffixes or combinations to mark additive construction. /-wan/ and /-piwan/ are common but not obligatory in such additive constitutes. The first example below shows /-wan/ connecting two nouns in the ta-case; the second two nouns in the pi-case. The third example shows /-piwan/ with case function; the fourth and fifth with connective function.

/ñuqatawan qamta rikuwančik/ 'he sees you and me'

/wasipiwan tuřipi/ 'in the house and in the tower'

/pukl̄anikum mayistrupiwan/ 'we (excl.) play with the teacher also'

/qarikunapiwan warmikunaqa/ 'men and women too'

/ñuqapiwan, qampiwan, paypiwan ruwasunčik/ 'let's I, you, and he do it'

When followed by /-wan/, /-ta/ may occur in environments where otherwise prohibited. In the first example speaker B's comment on A's statement implies a verb which is not present. The following examples show /-tawan/ with Na nouns which do not take /-ta/ alone.

A: /al̄inmi kukupa ruwanapaq/ 'its good for making cocopa (cooked and dried potatoes)';

B: /čarkitawan/ 'dried meat too'

/yapatawan/ 'and again'

/paqarintawan/ 'tomorrow too'

CHAPTER 5: VERB CATEGORIES

5.1. Types of Verbs. Verb stems are bound forms, although in one type of verbal compound the stem is followed by juncture (represented by hyphen; 7.4.). Verbs are classed as transitive, intransitive, and equational.

5.11. Transitive Verbs. The transitive verb is one which may, but need not, occur in a clause containing a regular noun in the ta-case.

5.111. Regular Transitives (VTr). Approximately seventy-five percent of the Ayacucho verbs fall into this class. Examples are /ruwa-/ 'to do, make': /ruwan/ 'he does it', /mesata ruwan/ 'he makes a table'; /uti-/ 'to ache from strain': /ñawiy ñuqata utiwan/ 'my eyes hurt me, my eyes are strained'.

5.112. Motion Verbs (VTm). Most transitive verbs which refer to motion of an actor from one place to another may occur in a clause with an agentive nominalization (verb stem plus the derivational suffix /-q/) which is adverbial without inflectional ending. Many place names ending in vowels are ambivalent stems that function as VTm as well as Nr. Some common motion verbs are: /ri-/ 'to go', /hamu-/ 'to come', /l̃uqsi-/ 'to leave' , /yayku-/ 'to enter', /hatari-/ 'to get up (out of bed)', /tiya-/ 'to sit down', /wamanga-/ 'to go to Huamanga (Ayacucho)': /ayakučuta rin/ 'he goes to Ayacucho', /ayakuču qawaykuq rin/ 'he goes to visit Ayacucho'.

5.113. Communication Verbs (VTc). Verbs of this class may occur in a clause containing an embedded clause as a direct quotation. The recipient of the information or query is represented by a noun phrase in the *ta*-case, as may be also the information or question if this takes the form of a nominalization rather than of direct quotation. E.g. /ni-/ 'to say, tell': /amiguntam rikusayki nirqa/ 'he said to his friend "I'll see you"'; /rikusqantam nin/ 'he says he saw him'. Other VTc stems are /wil̄a-/ 'to tell, advise, warn', /tapu-/ 'to ask', and /qikuta-/ 'to insist'.

5.114. *Impersonal Transitives (VTi)*. Most verbs referring to states of weather, and two of other meanings, are never inflected for person as actor, and cannot occur in a clause containing a noun phrase functioning as actor. E.g. /para-/ 'to rain': /ayakučutam paran/ 'it rains on Ayacucho', /ñuqamanmi paramuwan/ 'it rains on me'. The members of this class are:

/čikči-/ 'to sleet'
/ipu-/ 'to drizzle'
/kil̄a-/ 'to shine'(the moon)
/lasta-/ 'to snow'
/naya-/ 'to give desire'
/para-/ 'to rain'
/rankaču-/ 'to frost'
/riti-/ 'to snow'
/sul̄a-/ 'to form dew'
/usya-/ 'to clear up'
/wayra-/ 'to blow, be windy'
/yarqa-/ 'to make hungry'

Other verbs which may refer to weather are classed as VTr (/nuyu-/ 'to make wet', /čiri-/ 'to make cold', /rupa-/ 'to make hot, burn, shine'), or are intransitive (/qasa-/ 'to freeze').

5.12. Intransitive Verbs (VI). The intransitive verb never occurs in a clause containing a regular noun in the ta-case. This class is considerably smaller than VTr. Some examples are /puñu-/ 'to sleep', /wañu-/ 'to die', /suču-/ 'to move', /quñi-/ 'to become warm', /saksa-/ 'to be full (of food), and /kurku-/ 'to bend'.

5.13. Equational Verbs (VE). Three verbs /ka-/ 'to be', /bali-/ 'to be worth', and /tuku-/ 'to pretend to be, become' may occur in equational clauses: /payqa karqa mayistrum/ 'he was a teacher'.

The verb /ka-/ has a special form /kan/ 'there is, are' which occurs only in intransitive clauses: /kanmi wasi/ 'there is a house, a house exists'. Equational clauses referring to permanent states without specification of tense never contain verb forms; thus /payqa kačkan mayistrum/ 'he is(right now, or temporarily) a teacher', but /payqa mayistrum/ 'he is a teacher'.

5.14. A single defective stem */ha-/ occurs only in the imperative /hay/ 'I hear you, I await you, come!', in the derived VTm /hamu-/ 'to come', and in the defective derived stem /haku/ 'let's go' which is never inflected exceot for inclusive plural person (/hakučik/ 'let's go').

5.2. Verb Inflection.

5.21. Actor and Object Reference. Details of person suffix distribution not covered in 3.21 and relating to specific tense, subordinate, or conditional forms are described in the following sections as the relevant forms are introduced.

5.22. Injunctive. The suffix /-ču/, following the stem or the person suffix /-wa/ and preceding n-aspect, indicates suggestion or permissiveness on the part of the speaker as regards the advisability of action by a third person:

/l̄amka-/ 'to work': /l̄amkačun/ 'let him work';
/l̄amkačkačunku/ 'let them keep working'
/miku-/ 'to eat': /mikul̄awačun/ 'just let him eat me'

5.23. Aspect. The verb stem is immediately followed in all forms except the imperative and alternative conditional by one of the morphemes /-s/, /-r/, /-p/, and /-N/.

5.231. /-s/ immediately precedes tense /-QA/ or a subordinator /-pa/, /-tiN/. It is the least clear in meaning of the aspect morphemes.

5.232. /-r/ immediately precedes tense /-QA/ and appears to have completive meaning.

5.233. /-p/ immediately precedes the subordinator /-tiN/, and indicates that the actors differ between dependent and independent clauses.

5.234. /-N/ is represented by zero in the first person singular and exclusive plural forms of the future and regular conditional, in actor-object 1-2, and after tense /-QA/ in third (zero) person; by /n/ elsewhere. Immediately following the stem and preceding person (if any) it marks the simple present tense. It also precedes tense /-QA/ to form the future, and occurs between /-QA/ and person in all aspect-tense endings.

The *simple present tense*, as opposed to a true present which includes the durative modal /-čka/ in the stem (7.2316), generally indicates temporally unrestricted or habitual action. It also commonly replaces the true tenses when the context is unambiguous, and is used almost exclusively in one style of story-telling. The second person may refer to future time since there is no second person in the irregular future tense.

/rikuni/ 'I see'
/rikunki/ 'you see, you'll see'
/rikun/ 'he sees'
/rikunčik/ 'we (incl.) see'
/rikuyki/ 'I see you'
/rikusunki/ 'he sees you'
/rikuwanki/ 'you see me; you'll see me'

5.24. *Tense*. The non-present tense suffix /-QA/ has the allomorphs: (a) /-q/ in the irregular first person future ending /-saq/; (b) /-qa/ in free alternation with /-a/ in the actor-object 1-2 future /-sqayki/ or /-sayki/, and following the *r*-aspect; and (c) /-qa/ following the *n*- and *s*-aspects.

/-QA/ follows /-n/ in the *future tense*, /-r/ in the *simple past tense*, and /-s/ in the *quotative past tense*. Another tense, the *iterative past*, differs from these in being periphrastic.

See also /-QA/ in noun derivation 6.13.

5.241. The Future Tense. Only the third person future is regularly constructed:

/rikunqa/ 'he will see'

/rikunqaku/ 'they will see'

First person endings contain the suffixes /-sa/ and /-su/ (3.211):

/rikusaq/ 'I'll see'

/rikusaqku/ 'we (excl.) will see'

/rikusun/ or /rikusunčik/ 'we (incl.) will see; let's see'

There is no second person future form, and the second person present may refer to future time. This applies not only to the actor ending /-nki/, but also to actor-object 3-2 /-sunki/.

5.242. The Simple Past. This tense refers to past time without the special conditions of the quotative and iterative past tenses. The simple past is never used in story-telling (except in direct quotations within the tale).

/rikurqani/ or /rikurani/ 'I saw'

/rikurqanki/ or /rikuranki/ 'you saw'

/rikurqa/ or /rikura/ 'he saw'

/rikurqančik/ or /rikurančik/ 'we (incl.) saw'

/rikurqayki/ or /rikurayki/ 'I saw you'

/rikusurqanki/ or /rikusuranki/ 'he saw you'

5.243. The Quotative Past. This tense is regularly used in story-telling, and in conversation it indicates that the speaker is not responsible for the event, that he was unaware of the fact of, or the real significance of, the action at the time it occurred or began.

/huksi kasqa huk mačučapiwan payača/ 'once
upon a time there was a little old man
and woman'

/al̄intam tokasqanki/ 'you play well!'

/ñamá mikučkasqankiña/ 'Oh, you're already
eating!'

/čay sipasta mučasqani/ 'I kissed that girl
(I mistook her for another, or did it
while I was drunk, or dreamt it, etc.)!'

The ending /-sqa/ is ambivalent, functioning also as a nominalizer (6.13). The actor-object 1-2 /-sqayki/ is phonemically ambiguous with the future 1-2 and with the second person of the nominalization: /rikusqayki/ 'I saw you!'; 'I'll see you'; 'that you saw, what you saw'.

5.244. The Iterative Past. This tense indicates action repeated over a period of time in the past, and occurs in folk tales alongside the simple present and quotative past. In the third person it is represented by a form identical in shape to the agentive nominalization (6.14) alone; in other persons this form is immediately followed by a simple present or simple past form of /ka-/ 'to be'.

/rikuq kani/ or /rikuq karqani/ 'I used to
see'

/rikuq kanki/ or /rikuq karqanki/ 'you used
to see'

/rikuq/ 'he used to see'

/rikuqku/ 'they used to see'

In the actor-object combinations, /-wa/ and /-su/ always occur in the first word, but the 1-2 ending and /-čik/ only in the second; thus

1-2 /rikuq kayki/ 'I used to see you'

2-1 /rikuwaq kanki/ 'you used to see me'

2-1 pl. /rikuwaqku kanki/ 'you used to see us'

3-1 /rikuwaq/ 'he used to see me'

3-1 pl. incl. /rikuwaq kančik/ 'he used to see us (incl.)'

3-1 pl. excl. /rikuwaqku/ 'he used to see us (excl.)'

3-2 /rikusuq kanki/ 'he used to see you'

Although the iterative past forms with first and second person actor function as verbal phrases, they may be interrupted by enclitics. Thus in intransitive clauses they may be indistinguishable from the equational clause with the verb /ka-/ with the above-mentioned nominalization as attribute.

/manam l̄amkaqču kani/ 'I didn't use to work'; 'I'm not a worker' but

/manam čay čakrataqa l̄amkaqču kani/ 'I didn't use to work that field'

5.25. Subordination. Three subordinate verb forms are classified by the criteria: (a) aspectual relation between action of subordinate clause and that of independent clause; and

(b) whether the actor is the same or different in these clauses. The tense of the subordinate verb is always relative to that of the main verb.

The above criteria imply a pattern of four subordinate types, since both (a) and (b) include a two-way choice. The fourth type is represented by a verbal phrase showing two layers of subordinate forms.

There are two subordinating suffixes: /-pa/ follows the s-aspect, and /-tiN/ follows the s-aspect in the shape /-tin/ and the p-aspect in the shape /-ti/. The meaning of these morphemes apart from the aspect morphemes is not clear (but c.f. the pa-case 4.23103 and the NIntin-derivative 6.23).

The subordinate verb never adds the negative-interrogative enclitic /-ču/ in a negative clause, since the negator /mana/ is always included in the verbal phrase. The converse is true in independent clauses, where the negator functions as a separate phrase requiring agreement of the verb.

A special subordinate clause type which does not contain a subordinate verb and is not introduced by a subordinating particle is described in 5.264.

5.251. The pti-subordinate. This form indicates action which begins, and perhaps ends, previous to the start of the action denoted by the main verb, and which has a different actor than the main verb. This subordinate form is always inflected for person.

In translation this form usually appears as a clause introduced by 'if', 'when', or 'because', correlating quite closely with the presence or absence of the topic and comment enclitics as the examples below illustrate. The examples are chosen to illustrate the complete range in translation.

/ñuqa niptiyqa ruwanqam/ 'if (when) I say, he'll do it'

/ripusaqčá qul̄qi kaptin/ 'I'll surely go if there's money'

/kumpañasuptikiqa apurawman čayanki/ 'if he accompanies you, you'll arrive quickly'

/mana kay yakunčik kaptinqa wañuručwampasčá/ 'if we didn't have (if there weren't) our water, we would certainly die'

/kay kakařučiki uman kičkiruptin umal̄aytaqa waqtarquwarqa/ 'so this fox, when his head got stuck (in the pot), hit *me* on the head'

/ripuyčik kay quqawnikičikta ruwaykapuptiy/ 'go when I get this lunch packed for you!'

/ñuqa niptiymi rirqa/ 'he went because I said it'

/qam hamuptikim l̄uqsičkan/ 'he's leaving because you came'

/manaraq mañaptikim yanapasuyta qal̄arira/ 'he began to help you before you asked him (when you had not yet asked him)'

/qaway čay kutata qanračakuptintaq/ 'watch that flour so it doesn't get dirty (because it might get dirty)'

/mikuymanya mana kiruy nanawaptin/ 'I'd eat, but my tooth hurts (if my tooth didn't hurt)'

/may pačam upaĪaptiki tukunqa/ 'provided that
you be quiet, he'll finish'

All actor-object endings occur with the pti-subordinate except 1-2; this is illustrated above in the word /ruwaykapuptiy/, where the derivational suffix /-pu/ 'for' normally requires inflection for first or second person object.

5.252. The spa-subordinate. This form differs from the pti-subordinate only in that it presupposes the same actor as in the main clause, and in that person inflection is optional. It is often translated by the English ing-form, or by 'having -en'.

/ñanta pantaspanqa manam čayanqaču/ 'if he takes
the wrong road, he won't get there'

/nisyuta Īamkaspaqa tukusun/ 'if we work hard
we'll finish'

/mikuspan Īuqsirqa/ 'when he had eaten, he left',
'after eating he left', 'having eaten, he left'

/qamqa mana Īamkaspapas ačkatam mikunki/ 'you,
without even having worked (even though you
don't work), eat a lot'

/Īamkaspaymi/ 'because I'm working'

/niĪaspansi payakuĪaqa čukčankunata čutarparikuspan
pirqakunaman umanta waqtasqa/ 'having said that,
the old woman beat her head against the wall,
tearing her hair'

/kuyaspampas urkuntapas kumuykačaĪasqa/ 'even though he loved her, he just hung his head'

5.253. *The stin-subordinate*. This form differs from the *spa*-subordinate in that (a) it indicates action simultaneous with that of the main verb, and (b) it is never inflected for person. The *stin*-subordinate is usually translated by the ing-form or by 'while', and differs very little in meaning from the subordinate clause introduced by the chameleon particle of 3.144.

The last example below shows a unique type of verbal phrase with the *stin*-subordinate attributive to an independent form of /ka-/; however, such a construction is considered clumsy by the native speaker, and probably arose by analogy from the phrase-type of 5.254.

/tumastin purikučkanki/ 'you're walking around drinking'

/sudačkastinča yaku imata tumarqurqa/ 'perhaps he drank some water while sweating'

/ña wasi punkuta l̄uqsiruspanqa, čakimpas pisisqa, utqaymansi qipanta qawa-qawarikuspan, asnul̄antapas yanta kaspiwan waqtapayastin činkaykun/ 'having left through the door, as fast as her feet could carry her, hurriedly looking about behind herself, she disappeared from sight beating her burro repeatedly with a stick of firewood'

/tumastin kačkani/ 'I'm drinking'

5.254. Simultaneous actions of different actors are indicated by a verb phrase which has a *stin*-subordinate attributive to the pti-subordinate form of the durative stem /kačka-/ 'to be'.

> /waqastin kačkaptin l̃uqsirqani/ 'I left while she was crying'
>
> /wačakustin kačkaptin l̃amkačkara/ 'while she was giving birth he was working'

5.26. Conditional Forms.

5.261. The regular conditional is formed by adding the suffix /-man/ to the present tense form of the verb, immediately following the singular person suffixes (or n-aspect) and /-čik/ but immediately preceding /-ku/. This form is broader in meaning than the customary denotation of "conditional", and may be translated 'would', 'should', 'may', or 'might'.

> /kayman čayamuyman/ 'I would (should, etc) arrive here'
>
> /takiymankupasčá/ 'we (excl.) might even sing!'
>
> /wakinku takinmanku/ 'others would sing'
>
> /kay aqata tumaykunkičikman/ 'you should drink this chicha'
>
> /kananqa qamrayku takirapuykimampasčá/ 'now I would even sing for you!'

5.262. Alternative conditional forms for the second person and first person plural inclusive add the suffixes /-waq/ and /-čwan/, respectively, directly to the verb stem. The only actor-object combination permitted with these forms is 3-1 pl. incl. /-wačwan/; thus /rikunkiman/ or /rikuwaq/ 'you would see', but only /rikuwankiman/ 'you'd see me'.

/sinkaruwaqčiktaq taytakuna/ 'you might get drunk, gentlemen'

/tusučwampasčá/ 'we (incl.) might even dance!'

/arí, yanapawaq/ 'yes, you should help him'

5.263. The past conditional is formed when any of the conditionals is immediately followed by the third person simple past of /ka-/, and is translated 'would have', 'should have', or 'might have'.

/čay mesata al̄inta ruwanman karqa, hinaptinqa pagačwanmi/ 'he should have made that table well; then we would pay him'

/yačačwan kara payqa rimasqanta/ 'we should have known what he said'

5.264. A conditional form immediately followed by /hina/ 'like' may function as a subordinate verb phrase, translated 'as if':

/qawawačkanki mikuynikitapas mikuyman hina/ 'you're looking at me as if I'd eaten your food'

5.265. A special peculiarity of suffix order seen in the conditional is that when the enclitic /-pas/ 'even' is added to the second person plural, /-čik/ and /-pas/ may occur optionally as /-čikpas/ or /-pasčik/. This is the only case in the language of an enclitic preceding an inflectional morpheme.

/tusuruwaqčikpasčá/ or /tusuruwaqpasčikčá/ 'you might even dance!'

5.27. The Imperative. The imperative suffix /-y/ is added directly to the verb stem:

/qaway/ 'look!'

/qawayčik/ 'look (you-all)!'

The possible actor-object endings in the imperative are:

2-1 /-way/

2 pl.-1 /-wayčik/

2-1 pl. excl. /-wayku/

CHAPTER 6: SUBSTANTIVE DERIVATION

The suffixes of substantive derivation are of three types: (1) governing suffixes which derive substantives from verbs; (2) governing suffixes which derive substantives from other substantives: and (3) restrictive or attributive suffixes. In complex derived stems these suffixes occur in the order in which they are presented below, subject to the restrictions indicated. Non-productive suffixes, reduplication, and compounding are treated in Appendix 1.

6.1. Substantives Derived from Verbs. The four derivative types treated in this section are henceforth termed nominalizations. Nominalizing suffixes are added to the verb stem with or without the person suffixes /-wa/ and /-su/, and this stem may have a direct object and modifiers (10.3).

6.11. /-y/ derives an Na noun referring to action in the abstract without aspectual limitation.

/l̄amka-/ VTr 'to work': /l̄amkay/ 'to work, working, work'; /čakrata l̄amkayta munani/ 'I want to work the field'; /yanapawasun l̄amkaynini̇̌ikta/ 'he'll help us work'

/rima-/ VTr 'to speak': /rimay/ 'to speak, speaking, speech'; /rimaway/ 'speaking to me; speaking about me'

/unqu-/ VI 'to get sick': /unquy/ 'to get sick', getting sick, sickness, disease'

/aqa/ Nr-VTr 'chicha; to make (into) chicha':

/aqay/ 'to make (into) chicha, chicha-making'

/ka-/ VE 'to be': /kay/ 'to be, being': /sumaq kaynin/ 'its beauty'

/pisipa-/ VI 'to tire': /kay l̄amkayqa pisipaymi/ 'this work is tiresome'

/upya-/ VTr 'to drink: /upyay/ 'to drink, drinking': /upyay wasi/ 'drinking-house, bar'

The *y*-nominalization occurs adverbially without a case suffix when adding /-l̄a/ (6.33), and indicates manner of action. The last example shows a favorite type of expression indicating persistence in one activity to the exclusion of all others.

/kal̄pa-/ 'to run': /kal̄payl̄a taripasun/ 'by running we'll catch up'

/kusiku-/ 'to be happy': /kusikuyl̄aña l̄amkasun/ 'let's work very happily!'

/pukl̄a-/ 'to play': /pukl̄ayl̄a pukl̄akun/ 'he plays and plays, he does nothing but play'

A few *y*-nominalizations occur adverbially in the *ta*-case, e.g.

/tukuy/ 'to finish': /tukuyta/ 'upon finishing'

/inti waqtay/ 'the beating of the sun': /inti waqtayta/ 'by the beating of the sun'

6.12. /-na/ derives an Nr-Ar stem referring to action as a potential state or to the object, instrument, or place of such action.

/ruwa-/ VTr 'to do, make': /ruwana/ 'the fact

that one will, is to, or has to do, make;
what one will do, duty; that with which one
will do; where one will do; feasible': /yačani
ruwananta/ 'I know he'll do it; I know what
he'll do'; /yačani wasi ruwananta/ 'I know he'll
build a house'

/ati-/ VTr 'to be able to': /atina/ 'that one will be able; what one will be capable of; possibility; possible'

/pukl̄a-/ VI 'to play': /pukl̄ana/ 'that one will play; where one will play; what one will play with, toy'

/pička-/ VTr 'to sweep': /pičana/ 'that one will sweep; broom'

/puñu-/ VI 'to sleep': /puñuna/ 'that one will sleep; bed, bedroom'

/l̄uqsimu-/ VTr 'to leave in the direction of the speaker': /intipa l̄uqsimunan/ 'sun's coming-out place, east'

The adjectival function is seen in the adverbial occurrence of the na-nominalization in the ta-case, indicating reason for action:

/upal̄ay puñunanta/ 'be quiet so he can sleep!'

The na-nominalization also occurs as the actor of an intransitive clause indicating necessity or obligation. A peculiarity of this clause is that /kan/ 'there is, it exists' usually occurs in zero form.

/puñunaymi/ 'I have to sleep' lit. 'there
exists the fact that I have to sleep'
/manan puñunayču/ 'I don't have to sleep'
/puñunaykim karqa/ 'you had to sleep'
/mesata ruwananmi/, /mesa ruwananmi/, or
/ruwananmi mesata/ 'he has to make a table'

Special translations of the na-nominalization with certain case suffixes are: /-napaq/ 'in order to' (4.23107); /-nakama/ 'while' or 'until' (4.23109), /-narayku/ 'in order to, for the reason of wanting to' (4.23108).

6.13. /-qa/ added to a verb stem plus the aspect morpheme /-s/ (5.231) derives an Na substantive referring to action as a completed state or to the object, place, or (rarely) instrument of such action. This derivative type is henceforth termed the _sqa_-nominalization.

The _sqa_-nominalization occurs with high frequency in apposition or as predicate attribute, where it is comparable in function to the past participle of Indo-European languages. In the case of an ambivalent stem of the adjective-verb type the adjectival form of the stem usually refers to permanent condition in contrast to the _sqa_-derivative of the verbal form: /kiča/ Ar-VTr 'open; to open': /kiča čanka/ ' bowleg': /kičasqa punku/ 'open door, opened door'.

General examples of the _sqa_-nominalization are:

/qawa-/ VTr 'to watch, look at': /qawasqa/
'the fact that one watched; what one watched;
where one watched; watched, seen'; /yačani

qawasqaykita/ 'I know you looked; I know what you looked at'; /yačani imayna qawasqaykita/ 'I know how you watched'; /yačani qawasusqaykita/ 'I know that he looked at you'

/unqu-/ VI 'to get sick': /unqusqa/ 'that one got sick; sick'; /l̃umpay unqusqa warmi/ 'gravely ill woman'

/hamu-/ VTm 'to come': /hamusqa/ 'that one came; arrival'; /hamusqaykičiktayá tomaykuyčik/ 'drink to your arrival!'

/yača-/ VI 'to live, reside': /yačasqa/ 'that one lived or lives; where one lives, residence'; /hamunki yačasqayta/ 'you'll come to my residence'

The sqa-nominalization occurs adverbially to indicate condition of action either uninflected or adding /-ta/, with the uninflected form preferred.

/pisipa-/ VI 'to tire': /pisipasqa čayara/ or /pisipasqata čayara/ 'he arrived tired'

/yarqa-/ VTi 'to make hungry': /yarqasqa čayanqa/ 'he will arrive hungry'

/miku-/ VTr 'to eat': /mana mikusqa ripura/ 'he went off without having eaten'

6.14. /-q/ derives an Na noun referring to agent of action.

/l̃amka-/ VTr 'to work': /l̃amkaq/ 'that which works, worker; that one works'; /l̃amkaq runa/ 'person who works, working man, worker'; /rikuni l̃amkaqta/

'I watch the worker, I watch him work';

/čakra ľamkaq/ 'he who works the field'

/unqu-/ VI 'to get sick': /unquq/ 'he who gets sick; sick'; /unquq runa/ 'sick person'

/qati-/ VTm 'to follow': /qatiq/ 'that which follows, follower; following, next'

/rupa-/ VTr 'to make hot, burn (source of heat acting)': /rupaq/ 'that which burns, burning, hot'

The *q*-nominalization functions adverbially without inflection in a clause with a VTm verb, and indicates purpose of action:

/miku-/ 'to eat': /mikuqmi hataričkani/ 'I'm getting up to eat'

/rimayku-/ 'to greet'; /amigunkuna rimaykuqmi ričkan/ 'he is going to greet his friends'

/yanapa-/ 'to help': /yanapasuqniki hamuni/ 'I've come to help you'

6.15. When the nominalized form is a transitive predicate, the direct object does not add /-ta/ under certain circumstances. In the *y*-nominalization the object adds /-ta/ only when the nominalization is itself an object adding /-ta/, but the first /-ta/ is regular in occurrence only, not obligatory. In the *sqa*- and *na*-nominalizations /-ta/ is in every sense optional. In the *q*-nominalization /-ta/ never occurs.

/mesa ruway/ 'to make a table, table-making':

/mesata ruwayta munani/ 'I want to make a table'

/yaku l̃apčay/ 'to feel water': /mana yaku l̃apčayta atinmanču/ 'he couldn't feel the water'

/ayakuču rinaymi/ or /ayakučuta rinaymi/ 'I have to go to Ayacucho'

/faltasqaykičik huntaykačisqanrayku/ or /faltasqaykičikta huntaykačisqanrayku/ 'because they supplied what you-all lacked'

/amigun qawaykuq rin/ 'he goes to visit his friend' (cf. /amigunta qawaykuq rin/ or /amigunta rin qawaykuq/ 'he goes to his friend to visit')

6.2. Substantives Derived from Substantives.

6.21. /-sapa/ added to a noun or noun phrase derives an Aa adjective indicating multiple possession of the referent:

/wasi/ 'house': /wasisapa/ 'having many houses'; /l̃umpay wasisapa runa/ 'man with too many houses'

/qul̃qi/ 'money': /qul̃qisapa hamun/ 'he comes with a lot of money'

/ñawi/ 'eye': /ñawisapa/ 'having big eyes'

See also /-sapayuq/ (6.22).

6.22. /-NIyuq/ (postvocalic /-yuq/; postconsonantal /-niyuq/) added to a noun (or noun phrase) or numeral derives an Nr noun referring to possessor of the referent. /-NIyuq/ may follow a stem inflected for plural.

/qul̃qi/ 'money': /qul̃qiyuq/ 'person with money'; /warmita qul̃qiyuqta munani/ 'I want a woman with money'; /qul̃qiyuq rin/ 'he goes with money', lit. 'he with money goes'

/wasi/ 'house': /wasiyuq/ 'person who owns a house or houses, landlord'; /wasiyuqwan hamun/ 'he comes with the landlord'; /wasikunayuq/ 'person who owns houses'

/yana pača/ 'black clothing': /yana pačayuq/ 'person wearing black clothing'

/čunka/ 'ten'; /huk/ 'one': /čunka hukniyuq/ 'eleven'; /wata/ 'year': /čunka huk watayuq/ 'eleven-year-old; eleven years old'

/čakra/ 'field': /qawačkani wasiyuq čakrata/ 'I'm looking at the field with the house on it'; /qawačkani wasiyuqta/ 'I'm looking at the one with the house on it'

/-NIyuq/ follows /-sapa/ to indicate 'one who has many -': /wasisapayuq/ 'one who owns many houses'

6.23. /-NIntin/ (postvocalic /-ntin/; postconsonantal /-nintin/) added to a noun or numeral derives an Nr noun indicating adjacence of position or accompaniment. Like /-NIyuq/, /-NIntin/ may follow a stem inflected for plural.

The NIntin-derivative occurs most frequently in apposition with another noun, or as the subject in a clause. In the latter case it is often equivalent in meaning to an adverbial noun in the wan-case.

/wasi/ 'house': /rikuni wasintin čakrata/ 'I see the field with the house next to it; I see the house and the field' (cf. /rikuni wasitawan čakrata/ 'I see the house and the field')

/wasintimpaq/ 'for the one next to the house';
'for the house too'

/kimsa/ 'three': /rikuni kimsantinta/ 'I see the
one next to the three'

/qari/ 'man'; /warmi/ 'woman': /qarintin warmintin/
'men and women side by side'

/qina/ 'quena (notched flute)': /qinantin hamun/
'he comes with his quena'

Kin terms which may be reciprocal, e.g. /wawqi/ 'brother (of a male)', always add /-NIntin/ when referring to two or more persons among whom the relation is mutual:

/iskay ñañantin warmi/ 'two women who are sisters'

/kimsa wawqintin/ 'three brothers (of each other)'

Na idioms with /-NIntin/ are:

/kil̄a/ 'moon, month': /kil̄antin/ 'all month long'

/wata/ 'year': /watantin/ 'all year long'

/paqarin/ 'tomorrow': /paqarinnintin/ 'the following day'

/-NIntin/ follows /-Niyuq/, though it is optional in the second case below.

/wasiyuqnintin rin/ 'he goes with his landlord'

/čunka iskayniyuqnintinmanta/ or /čunka
iskayniyuqmanta/) 'from the twelve of them'

6.24. /-řal/ 'ten cents' derives an Nr noun from an NUMu numeral, and may underlie /-NIyuq/ and /-NIntin/.

/huk/ 'one': /hukřal/ 'ten cents'

/iskay/ 'two': /iskayřalnintin rin/ 'he goes with twenty cents'

Nr stems used in conjunction with the *řal*-derivatives in counting currency are: /čiku/ 'penny', /medyu/ 'five cents', /řiyal/ 'ten cents', /řalmedyu/ 'fifteen cents', /tustun/ 'forty cents', /warku/ 'eighty cents', /sol/ or /solis/ 'sol (100 cents; US $.40)', and /libra/ 'pound, ten soles'.

6.25. Nominalizations underlie *sapa*-, *NIyuq*-, and *NIntin*- derivatives, with the restriction that the *sqa*-nominalization may only underlie the *NIntin*-derivative as illustrated in the last example below. This derivational type is unique in that /-NIntin/ follows person inflection and is optional.

/yača-/ 'to know': /yačaysapa/ 'having a great deal of knowledge, very intelligent'; /yačayniyuq/ 'one with knowledge; intelligent'

/pukl̄a-/ 'to play': /pukl̄anayuq/ 'one who has a toy'; /pukl̄anantin ripura/ 'he went with his toy'

/l̄amka-/ 'to work': /l̄amkaqnintin hamučkan/ 'he is coming with the worker'

/ruwa-/ 'to do, make': /čay libruta apamuy ruwasqaynintintawan/ or /čay libruta apamuy ruwasqaytawan/ 'bring that book and my work!'

6.3. *Restrictive Suffixes*. Of the three suffixes of this type, /-ča/ and /-l̄a/ also follow verb stems and are further treated in 7.2.

6.31. /-ča/ is a diminutive suffix which occurs with high frequency in polite and intimate address.

/wasi/ 'house/: /wasiča/ 'little house'

/warmi/ 'woman, wife, human female': /warmiča/ 'little woman; female child'

/amigu/ 'friend': /amiguča/ 'good friend'; /amigučáy/ 'my good friend' (address)

/-ča/ is added twice in several idioms:

/čikačačan/ 'very greatly'

/čikačačaq/ 'enormous'

/l̄iwčačan/ 'every last one'

6.32. /-su/ is an augmentative in respect to both size and quality, and is mutually exclusive with /-ča/.

/wasi/ 'house': /wasisu/ ' a good, big house'

/sumaq/ 'beautiful': /sumaqsu/ 'wonderful'

6.33. /-l̄a/ is a limitative suffix often translatable as 'just' or 'only', and is very common in polite and apologetic speech.

/wasi/ 'house': /wasil̄a/ 'just a house'

/al̄in/ 'good': /al̄inl̄am kačkani/ 'I'm just fine'

/-l̄a/ follows /-ča/ and /-su/ and, unlike these, follows the noun pluralizer /-kuna/, the case suffixes /-kama/, /-pura/, /-rayku/, and /-NInka/.

/čunku/ 'dear friend': /čunkučal̄áy/ 'my very dear friend' (address)

/sinči/ 'great': /sinčisul̄aña/ 'extremely great'

/kay/ 'this': /kaykunal̄api/ 'just in these parts'

/wasiraykul̄a/ 'just because of the house'

A few idioms show /-l̃a/ added twice, and an irregular sequence /-l̃ača/:

/čikačal̃a/ 'just a bit/: /čikačal̃al̃a/ 'just a little bit'

/tumpa/ 'a small amount': /tumpal̃anl̃a/ 'just a small amount'

/mama/ 'mother, Mrs., woman': /mamal̃ača/ 'a little old woman'

See also the sequence /-l̃aña/ (8.204). ADVs with /-l̃a/ are listed in 3.148.

6.34. Restrictive suffixes follows all other suffixes of substantive derivation, and may precede suffixes of the second type (6.2). /-NIntin/ and /-l̃a/ may occur as /-NIntil̃an/ with /-l̃a/ infixed. Some examples are:

/muna-/ 'to want, love': /munayča/ 'likeable': /munayl̃a/ 'just desire; by desiring'

/l̃amka-/ 'to work': /l̃amkaqča/ 'little worker'; /l̃amkaql̃a/ 'only the worker'

/asnu/ 'donkey': /wantakusqa asnučantin/ 'she went to Huanta with her little donkey'

/kimsa/ 'three': /kimsařalčantin kačamuwan/ 'he sent me here with my little thirty cents'

/wasi/ 'house': /wasiyuql̃a/ 'just the landlord'

CHAPTER 7: VERB DERIVATION

The suffixes of verb derivation are of two types: those which derive verbs from substantives, and those which derive verbs from verbs. In addition to these, compound verb stems and reduplicating stems of several types also occur as productive derivations. Non-productive suffixes of verb derivation are treated in Appendix 2.

7.1. Verbs Derived from Substantives. The two derivative types treated in this section are henceforth termed verbalizations.

7.11. /-ča/ added to an adjective or noun stem derives a verb, usually VTr, indicating creation or destruction of the referent involved. The ča-verbalization is glossed as 'to make -', 'to make (into) a -', 'to make into the shape of a -', or 'to make free of -s', 'to rid of -s':

/hatun/ 'large, long': /hatunča-/ VTr 'to make large, enlarge, lengthen'
/al̄in/ 'good': /al̄inča-/ VTr 'to make good, improve'
/wasi/ 'house': /wasiča-/ VI 'to build a house'
/rapi/ 'leaf': /rapiča-/ VTr 'to shape like a leaf'; 'to free of leaves'
/ita/ 'louse': /itača-/ VTr 'to delouse'

All adjectives underlie ča-verbalizations, and these are always transitive and indicate creation. Many but not all nouns underlie ča-verbalizations, thus requiring listing in the dictionary, and these may be transitive or intransitive. In the latter case a predicate with /ruwa-/ 'to do, make, build' is used where a *ča*-verbalization is unavailable.

/wasičan/ (or /wasita ruwan/) 'he builds a house', but only

/iskwelata ruwan/ 'he builds a school'

/-ča/ is irregularly added to a noun stem plus /-n/ of third person:

/kal̄pa/ 'strength': /kal̄panča-/ 'to strengthen'

/fer̆sa/ 'force, effort': /fer̆sanča-/ or /fer̆sača-/ 'to reinforce; to make effort'

/uku/ 'interior, inside': /ukuča-/ 'to deepen'; /ukunča-/ 'to put on underwear'

In the case of an ambivalent stem of the adjective- or noun-VTr type, a *ča*-verbalization may be equivalent or different in meaning from the verbal form of the stem:

/qura/ 'weed, herb': /qura-/ or /qurača-/ 'to weed'

/qata/ 'cover; roof': /qata-/ 'to cover'; /qatača-/ 'to make (into) a roof'

/layqa/ 'witch': /layqa-/ 'to bewitch'; /layqača-/ 'to make into a witch'

/-ča/ is added to the *y*-nominalization in a few idioms:

/muna-/ 'to want': /munayča-/ 'to strengthen'

/yupa-/ 'to count': /yupayča-/ 'to honor'

7.12. /-ya/ added to all adjective stems and to a few noun stems derives a VI verb indicating actualization of the involved referent. ya-verbalizations are glossed 'to become -':

/al̄in/ 'good': /al̄inya-/ 'to become good, get well, improve'

/al̄in runa/ 'good person': /al̄in runaya-/ 'to become a good person'

/mal̄aq/ 'not having breakfasted; sober after having drunk': /mal̄aqya-/ 'to sober up'

/tika/ 'lump, solid': /tikaya-/ 'to solidify'

/tuta/ 'night, darkness': /tutaya-/ 'to become dark, become night'

/maču/ 'old man': /mačuya-/ 'to grow old (of men)'

/paya/ 'old woman': /payaya-/ 'to grow old (of women)'

/loko/ 'crazy' (masculine): /lokoya-/ 'to go mad' (of men)

/loka/ 'crazy' (feminine): /lokaya-/ 'to go mad' (of women)

7.2. Verbs Derived from Verbs. This system contains sixteen suffixes, both governing and restrictive, whose meanings involve mainly mode, aspect, and voice. These suffixes are henceforth termed modal suffixes, and the verb stem derived thereby the verbal base.

The modal suffixes are: /-pa/ (repetitive), /-ra/ (uninterrupted action; passive), /-ti/ (simulated action), /-ya/ (intensive), /-ča/ (diminutive), /-ri/ (inceptive), /-YkU/ (augmentative), /-rQU/ (action with urgency or personal interest), /-či/ (causative), /-ysi/ (benefactive), /-na/ (reciprocal), /-pU/ (interpersonal), /-kU/ (reflexive-middle), /-mu/ (directional), /-ĪA/ (limitative), and /-čka/ (durative). With certain exceptions, each of these suffixes may occur as the sole base-forming element or in combination with any other or others in the order just listed. One combination /-YkUča/ (action diffusing in space, time, and importance) is idiomatic as regards both meaning and order of constituents, and is completely productive.

7.21. Distribution of Modal Suffixes. Distributional rules are typed and listed below. No attempt is made in this study to give examples of all possible modal suffix combinations. All examples are given in 7.23, and are chosen to illustrate distributional and morphophonemic rules as well as the meanings of the suffixes.

The rules presented here are incomplete only as regards lengthy combinations containing /-na/. Because of the special complexity involved these are separately treated in 7.2311.

7.211. Obligatory Co-occurrences. /-ra/, /-ti/, /-ya/, and /-na/ occur only in combinations. /-ya/ is always immediately preceded by /-pa/, /-ra/, or /-ti/; /-ra/ and /-ti/ occur only in these combinations /-raya/ and /-tiya/. /-na/ always occurs with /-či/, /-ysi/, or /-kU/.

7.212. Order Options. Some suffixes show optional order when occurring consecutively; for example, when /-YkU/ and /-kU/ occur together they appear optionally as /-YkUkU/ or as /-kUYkU/ with the order reversed. The pairs showing this phenomenon are: /-YkU/ and /-kU/, /-rQU/ and /-kU/, /-ri/ and

/-ysi/, /-ri/ and /-YkU/, /-ri/ and /-rQU/, /-pU/ and /-kU/ (before /-mu/), and several pairs involving /-na/, described in 7.2311.

7.213. Multiple Occurrence of Individual Suffixes. Several modals may be added twice or thrice in the same word to emphasize their meaning. /-pa/ and /-ri/ may be added twice consecutively, giving /-papa/ and /-riri/. When /-riri/ occurs with /-ysi/ a third /-ri/ may be added such that /-ririysiri/ or /-riysiriri/ results.

/-pU/ is added twice only in the combination /-papUYkUpUmu/, phonemically /-papuykapamu/.

/-na/ is added twice in /-način̆akU/.

/-ča/ and /-YkU/ regularly follow idiomatic /-YkUča/, but simply add their regular meaning which is lacking in /-YkUča/.

7.214. Extrasystemic Relationships and Diagram. The modal suffixes, the person suffixes /-wa/, /-su/, and /-sA/, and injunctive /-ču/ occur between the verb stem and aspect suffixes (or nominalizers, except that /-sA/ and /-ču/ do not occur in nominalizations).

/-sA/ and /-ču/ occur between modal and aspectual suffixes. /-wa/ immediately precedes /-čka/ when the two occur together. /-su/ may either precede or follow /-čka/ when second person inflection follows; thus, for example, /-čkasunki/ or /-sučkanki/ (durative, actor-object 3-2, present).

The sequence of modal suffixes, plus /-wa/ and /-su/ in parentheses, summarized below does not constitute a true morpheme order diagram but simply shows the order from which the great majority of possible combinations can be read. /-na/ is omitted because each of the four voice combinations in which it occurs occasions its own reorganization of order for all suffixes occurring between /-ča/ and /-mu/.

pa $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{\text{ra}}{\text{ti}}$ ya ča ri YkU rQU či ysi pU kU mu l̄a (wa) čka (su)

7.22. *Morphophonemics*. /U/ represents an alternation /u/~/a/ such that /u/ in base forms is replaced by /a/ before certain other modals and before another modal with /U/ when this occurs in its *a*-form. The only case of /U/ represented by /u/ preceding a suffix with /U/ represented by /a/ is in the combination /-papuykapamu/ (7.213). /Q/ represents a free alternation of /q/ with zero in all environments. /Y/ represents a free alternation of /y/ with zero in very specific environments.

/-YkU/ is represented by /-Yka/ before /-ča/, /-ri/, /-na/, /-či/, /-ysi/, /-pU/, /-mu/, or another modal in its *a*-form, and by /-Yku/ elsewhere. /Y/ represents freely alternating /y/ and zero in /-ykača/~/-kača/, and in /-yčinarikU/~/-činarikU/ (where /-YkU/ is discontinuous, see 7.23113).

/-rQU/ is represented by /-rqa/ or /-ra/ before /-ri/, /-či/, /-ysi/, /-pU/, /-mu/, or another modal in its *a*-form, and by /-rqu/ or /-ru/ elsewhere.

/-pU/ is represented by /-pa/ before /-kU/ and /-mu/, and by /-pu/ elsewhere.

/-kU/ is represented by /-ka/ before /-či/ (7.23112) and /-mu/, and by /-ku/ elsewhere.

7.23. Individual Suffixes and Typical Combinations. In this section certain frequent combinations will be commented upon, especially those involving complex voice distinctions.

7.2301. /-pa/ indicates action repeated one or more times, generally for the purpose of correcting something already done or finishing something already begun:

/dali-/ 'to hit': /dalipa-/ 'to hit repeatedly'
/taki-/ 'to sing': /takipa-/ 'to sing over',
  /takipapa-/ 'to sing over and over'
/tuku-/ 'to finish': /tukupa-/ 'to finish up'
/riku-/ 'to see': /rikupa-/ 'to examine'

See also /-paya/ (7.23041), and the ambiguity with /-pU/ in certain combinations (7.2312).

7.2302. /-ra/ indicates continuous action, contrasting with /-pa/ and /-ti/ before /-ya/. Examples are given in 7.23042.

7.2303. /-ti/ indicates simulation of action, contrasting with /-pa/ and /-ra/ before /-ya/. Examples are given in 7.23043.

7.2304. /-ya/ is an intensifier occurring only with one of the three preceding suffixes as follows.

7.23041. /-paya/ indicates action repeated often or performed with special care:

/tapu-/ 'to ask': /tapupaya-/ 'to ask repeatedly'
/rima-/ 'to speak': /rimapaya-/ to confide; to

speak cordially, greet one's neighbors regularly'

/Ĭačpa-/ 'to feel of': /Ĭačpapaya-/ 'to feel of carefully, examine by touch'

7.23042. /-raya/ generally indicates action continued without interruption or to the point of excess. When /-raya/ occurs in a transitive base in an intransitive clause it may have passive meaning.

/tapu-/ 'to ask': /tapuraya-/ 'to ask too often'

/rima-/ 'to speak': /rimaraya-/ 'to speak continuously, talk too much'

/unqu-/ 'to get sick': /unquraya-/ 'to be sick all the time'

/kumpa-/ 'to knock down': /kumparaya-/ 'to knock down continuously; to stay knocked down'

7.23043. /-tiya/ indicates action repeated at very brief intervals, usually in a simulating manner. In some contexts it may be equivalent in meaning to /-Ykača/ (7.23052).

/pita-/ 'to smoke (tobacco)': /pitatiya-/ 'to puff continually'

/akĬa-/ 'to choose': /akĬatiya-/ 'to pretend to choose, look without intending to buy'

/kaču-/ 'to chew': /kačutiya-/ 'to go through the motions of chewing, chew with an empty mouth'

/miku-/ 'to eat': /mikutiya-/ 'to pretend to eat, play with one's food, nibble'

/waqa-/ 'to cry': /waqatiya-/ 'to whimper'

7.2305. /-ča/ and /-Ykača/.

7.23051. /-ča/ is the diminutive suffix introduced in 6.3. With verb stems it indicates action performed by a child or in the manner of a child, or simply intimate address:

> /pukl̄a-/ 'to play': /pukl̄ačan/ 'he (the child) plays; he plays like a child'
>
> /tukupa-/ 'to finish up': /tukupačay/ 'please finish up!'

7.23052. /-Ykača/ indicates action recurring at very short intervals and generally diffusing in space and diminishing in importance, or performed in a non-serious manner. /-Ykača/ may be followed by a regular occurrence of /-ča/, or any suffix in the sequence after /-ča/, but is never preceded by a suffix which precedes /-ča/.

> /qawa-/ 'to watch, look at': /qawaykača-/ or /qawakača-/ 'to look around idly'
>
> /l̄uqsi-/ 'to leave': /l̄uqsiykača-/ 'to leave every few minutes'
>
> /ruwa-/ 'to do': /ruwaykača-/ 'to putter (at)'
>
> /tuku-/ 'to finish': /tukuykačačaykuy/ 'please finish up around here!'

7.2306. /-ri/ is an inceptive suffix, but is rarely interpreted as indicating beginning of action since emphasis is on the negative aspect of inception: by just having begun the action has not yet really gotten under way. /-ri/ is common in supplicatory commands and apologetic statements.

> /puri-/ 'to walk': /puriričkani/ 'I'm just starting to walk; I'm just walking around'

/taki-/ 'to sing': /takiriy/ 'oh come on and sing; sing for my sake!'

/kača-/ 'to send': /kačarisqa/ 'he had just sent'

/takiririy/ 'oh just come on and sing a little!'

7.2307. /-YkU/ indicates action performed in some way different from the usual; it may indicate cordiality, severity, fear, surprise, etc., depending on context. This suffix is very frequent but rarely translatable.

/qawa-/ 'to look at': /qawayku-/ 'to visit'

/rima-/ 'to speak': /rimayku-/ 'to greet' (but cf. 7.243.)

/qawaykapamusaq/ 'I'll go look in his stead'

/apa-/ 'to carry': /apačariykapuway/ 'please take it for me!'

/wata-/ 'to tie': /wataykariy/ 'tie them all up!'

/-YkU/ occurs also in a set of idioms indicating arrival of certain times of day, or persistence in some activity till a certain time of day. For example:

/tuta/ 'night': /tutayku-/ 'to continue till dark'

/ačikya-/ 'to dawn': /ačikyayku-/ 'to continue till dawn'

/tutačayku-/ 'to become dark; to continue till nightfall'

See also /-Ykača/ (7.23052).

7.2308. /-rQU/ indicates action performed urgently, or with personal (perhaps selfish) interest on the part of the speaker or actor. In the present tense a base with /-rQU/ is often best rendered as 'to have just -en'.

/qawa-/ 'to watch, look at': /qawarquni/ or
  /qawaruni/ 'I've just looked at it'

/qawarusaq/ 'I'll look at it right away'

/qawarquy/ 'look at it right away; its important
  to me that you look at it!'

/qawarqamusqa/ 'he had just gone to look at it'

A transitive base with both /-rQU/ and /-ri/ may have the force of indicating multiple objects:

/wata-/ 'to tie': /watarariy/ or /watariruy/
  'tie them all up!'

7.2309. /-či/ derives a causative VTr base from a stem of any form class, and indicates causality or permission:

/qawa-/ 'to look at, watch': /qawači-/ 'to have
  something looked at, cause to be seen, let be
  seen; to show': /qawačisaq čayta/ 'I'll have
  that looked at, I'll show that'

/puñu-/ VI 'to sleep': /puñuračisaq wawata/ 'I'll
  put the baby right to sleep'

/timpu-/ VI 'to boil' (intrans.): /timpuči-/ 'to
  boil' (trans.): /yakuta timpučin/ 'he boils water'

/yarqa-/ VTi 'to make hungry' (no actor):
  /yarqači-/ 'to make hungry'(food or person acting)

The direct object (/-ta/) of a causative base whose underlying stem is transitive is generally distinguished from adverbials indicating agent (/-wan/) or recipient (/-man/):

/payta ñuqawan engañačiwan/ 'he has me cheat him'

(lit. 'he has him cheated by me')

/paywan ñuqata engañačiwan/ 'he has him cheat me'
(lit. 'he has me cheated by him')

/čayta ñuqaman qawačiwan/ 'he shows me that'
(lit. 'he has that seen to me')

However, potential ambiguity is common since pronouns are regularly omitted except when emphasis is desired. This ambiguity may even remain when pronouns are used if both direct object and agent add /-ta/, as in the example below, but such forms are considered clumsy by the native speaker.

/paytam kaytaqa ruwačipusayki/ 'I'll have him do this for you'

/-či/ is discussed further as it occurs in the following combinations: /-čiysi/ (7.2310), /-nači/ (7.23112), /-činakU/ (7.23113), /-čipU/ (7.2312), /-čikU/ (7.2313).

7.2310. /-ysi/ is a transitivizer like /-či/, and indicates accompaniment for the purpose of aiding or protecting. The translations of /-ysi/ are misleading in the sense that both helping and accompanying are commonly expressed as distinct acts by other Quechua forms.

/l̃amka-/ 'to work': /čakrata l̃amkaysisayki/
'I'll work the field with you, I'll help you work the field'

/puñu-/ VI 'to sleep': /puñuraysisayki/ 'I'll sleep with you' (implying protection, but not necessarily sharing the same bed)

/ri-/ VTm 'to go': /riysisayki/ 'I'll go with you'

(as, for example, when one must travel at night and risk encountering various supernatural monsters who attack only lone travellers)

/-čiysi/ indicates aiding in causative action:

/wañu-/ 'to die': /wañučiysiwanki/ 'you'll help me kill him'

See also /-ysinakU/ (7.23114).

7.2311. /-na/ indicates reciprocity of action between two or more actors. It occurs in four combinations which we shall refer to as nakU-, nači-, činakU-, and ysinakU-bases. Each of these occasions special restrictions on which other modals may occur (affecting those between /-ča/ and /-mu/ on the general diagram), and on the order(s) in which they may occur.

7.23111. /-nakU/ without following or intervening /-či/ or /-ysi/ indicates reciprocal action among the members of a group which includes the actor. The preferred order for modals which may occur in the nakU-base is:

....YkU na ri rQU kU pU....

However, in addition to the order options listed in 7.212 we here add the pairs /-YkU/ and /-na/, and /-na/ and /-ri/. In other words, the modals /YkU na ri rQU kU/ may occur in any order except one which would show an impossible sequence */-rQUYkU/, */-kUna/, */-kUri/, or */-rQUna/.

The stem underlying a nakU-base is always transitive, and the base is usually intransitive indicating that the action denoted by the stem is performed by the members of a group on each other.

/ /riku-/ 'to see': /rikunakunku/ 'they see each other'

/rikunakun qanwan/ 'he and you see each other'

/rima-/ 'to speak': /rimapayanakunkičik/ 'you-all speak to one another often'

/rikuykanarirukunku/, /rikunaykarirukunku/, /rikuykarinakurqunku/, /rikuriykanarqukunku/, /rikunarikuykurunku/, etc., 'they've just seen each other briefly'

When the underlying stem is VTc or one denoting giving or taking away, however, the nakU-base is often transitive:

/wil̄a-/ 'to tell': /wil̄anakusun imam ruwanančikta/ 'let's tell each other what we have to do'

/qu-/ 'to give': /makita qunakurqaku/ 'they shook hands' (lit. 'they gave each other the hand')

/qiču-/ 'to take away': /qičunaku-/ 'to take from one another' (but cf. /suwa-/ 'to steal': /suwanaku-/ 'to elope')

7.23112. /-nači/ without following /-kU/ indicates causality of reciprocal action within a group which does not include the causing actor. All modals occur, with the preferred order:

....YkU na ri rQU kU či ysi pU....

and with the same restrictions and order options as for the nakU-base; note, however, that in the nači-base /-kU/ occurs only between /-na/ and /-či/, and its presence or absence does not affect the meaning of the base. A special order option in the *nači*-base is that /-načipU/ may occur as /-činapU/.

Both the underlying stem and the *nači*-base are transitive, and the object of the base is the group, or part of the group, whose members are made to act on one another.

/rikunačisaykičik/ I'll make you-all see each other'

/rikunačisayki paywan/ 'I'll make you and he see each other'

/rikunačisaq paykunata/ 'I'll make them see each other'

/taka-/ 'to punch': /takanačin warmapurata/ 'he makes the boys punch one another'

/kuska-/ 'to go together': /kuskanakaračiwančik/ 'he makes us (incl.) go together'

/raki-/ 'to separate': /rakinačirankičikču čay takanakuqkunata/ 'did you-all separate those who were punching each other?'

7.23113. /-činakU/ or /-načikU/ indicates causality of reciprocal action within a group which includes the causing actor(s). The general order of suffixes is:

....YkU ri či na rQU kU pU....

with the same rules as for *nakU*- and *nači*-bases, plus (a) /-či/ and /-na/ occur in either order but must be consecutive (*/-čiri/ is impossible), and (b) /-na/ may be added twice for emphasis, giving /-načinakU/.

In certain of the possible orders, where /-ri/ and /-YkU/ both occur, /-YkU/ may be discontinuous with /Y/ preceding

/-či/ and with /kU/ preceding /-rQU/ or /-kU/ (the only order option still operable). /Y/ occurs as /y/ following /-ri/ (first string below), and as /y/ in free alternation with zero following the stem (second string below).

....ri Y- či na -kU rQU kU pU....
....Y- či na ri -kU rQU kU pU....

The stem underlying the činakU-base may be either intransitive or transitive, and the base belongs to the same class and indicates that the members of a group cause each other to perform the action denoted by the stem, or cause each other to be thus acted upon.

/qawa-/ 'to look at': /qawačinakunkičik/ or /qawanačikunkičik/ 'you-all show each other (cause each other to see)' or 'you cause each other to be seen'
/qawačinakunki paywan/ 'you and he show each other'
/qawariyčinakukunku/ or /qawayčinarikukunku/ or /qawačinarikukunku/ 'they have each other visit'
/kama-/ 'to fit, contain': /kamanačinakurunku/ 'they order each other around'
/asi-/ 'to laugh': /asičinakusun/ 'let's make each other laugh!'
/miku-/ 'to eat': /mikunačikučkankum kikinkupura/ 'they're serving each other themselves'

7.23114. /-ysinakU/ indicates that the members of a group help or accompany one another to perform the action denoted by the stem. The suffixes in their preferred order are:

....YkU ysi na ri rQU kU pU....

Rules are generally the same as for the other reciprocal base types, but /-ysi/ and /-na/ always occur consecutively as /-ysina/; thus /-YkU/, or /-ri/, or both, may either precede or follow /-ysina/.

/ri-/ 'to go': /riysinakuniku/ 'we (excl.) accompany each other'

/qawa-/ 'to watch': /qawaykaysinarikun/ or /qawaykariysinakun/ or /qawaysinarikuykun/, etc., 'they go visiting with each other'

7.2312. /-pU/ indicates action performed in behalf of or at the expense of someone other than the actor. A noun phrase naming this beneficiary occurs in the paq-case.

/rima-/ 'to speak': /ñuqapaq rimapuwanqa/ 'he will speak for me (in my stead or in my behalf)'

/apa-/ 'to take, bring': /traguykita apapusayki/ 'I'll bring your drink for you'

/apapunki paypa taytampaq/ 'you'll bring it for his father'; 'you'll bring it (he himself can't) for his father'

/apapunki paypa taytampa tragunta/ 'you'll bring his father's drink for him' (same ambiguity in the example and in its gloss)

An intransitive base with /-pU/ may add actor-object endings:

/upal̄a-/ 'to be quiet': /upal̄apusayki/ 'I'll be quiet for you'

/ka-/ 'to be, exist': /lapisniy kapuwan/ 'I have a pencil' (lit. 'my pencil exists for me'; cf. less emphatic /lapisniy kan/ 'I have a pencil, my pencil exists')

Both /-pa/ and /-pU/ are represented phonemically by /-pa/ before /-kU/ and /-mu/, giving such ambiguous sequences as /-pamu/ and /-papamu/. This type of ambiguity is often removed by adding /-YkU/.

/qawapamusayki/ 'I'll go look at you again', or 'I'll go look at it for you'

/qawapaykamusayki/ 'I'll go look at you again'

/qawaykapamusayki/ 'I'll go look at it for you'

/qawapaykapamusayki/ 'I'll go look at it again for you'

The last of these examples shows the only environment where /-pU/ can be added twice, giving /-papuykapamu/.

/-čipU/ indicates causing an agent to act on behalf of a beneficiary, that is, having something done for someone:

/ruwa-/ 'to do': /ruwačipusayki/ (with pronouns /paywan kayta qampaq ruwačipusayki/) 'I'll have him do this for you'

See also /-pUkU/ (7.2313).

7.2313. /-kU/ indicates reflexive, mediopassive, or (rarely, perhaps influenced by Spanish) passive voice, or action characteristic of the actor. This suffix occurs most frequently with mediopassive meaning, where it is rarely translatable.

/riku-/ 'to see': /rikukun/ 'he sees himself'; 'he sees it (for his own benefit)'; 'he sees (habitually)'; 'it seems'

/akl̄a-/ 'to choose': /akl̄aykukuy sumaqninta/ or /akl̄akuykuy sumaqninta/ 'choose yourself the best one!'

/kuska-/ 'to go together': /kuskanarakačin/ or /kuskanakaračin/ 'he has them go together'

/kumpaña-/ 'to accompany': /kumpañarikamusun/ 'let's just go accompany them'

/hampi-/ 'to cure': /butika řemedyukunaqa manam hampikunču/ 'drugstore remedies don't cure'

/rima-/ 'to speak': /payqa hinam rimakun/ 'he always speaks like that'

/-čikU/ indicates that the actor causes himself to act, or that he causes another to act on him, or habitual causation.

/suwa-/ 'to rob': /suwačikunki/ 'you let yourself rob'; 'you let yourself be robbed'

/yarqa-/ 'to make hungry': /yarqačikunmi/ 'that makes people hungry, that has the property of always causing hunger'

/-pUkU/ indicates action benefitting both the actor and another party, or benefitting the actor at the expense of another party. In the former case the meaning is similar to that of /-ysi/.

/qawapakusun/ 'let's help him look'; 'let's look, it won't cost us anything'

/l̃amka-/ 'to work': /l̃amkapaku-/ 'to work for someone, be employed'

/upya-/ 'to drink': /upyapaku-/ 'to drink at another's party, drink free'

See also the reciprocal bases (7.2311).

7.2314. /-mu/ indicates inception of action in a place other than where the action is spoken of. If the action involves transference of a person or thing from one place to another (VTm verbs and VTi verbs referring to states of weather) direction is also indicated: convergence of actor and addressee if these are physically separated, and the action as yet unrealized, at the time of speaking; direction toward the place of speaking otherwise. Thus with VI and most VTr verbs /-mu/ is glossed 'there', 'thither', or 'to go -'; with motion verbs and weather verbs it is translated 'here', 'hither', except in the special circumstances as seen in the last two examples below. When direction is involved in the meaning of the stem, the absence of /-mu/ implies 'thither'. With verbs of giving, such as /qu-/ 'to give', /qaywa-/ 'to extend, pass', /yapa-/ 'to give more, add', and /apa-/ 'to bring, take', /-mu/ may indicate either direction, depending on context. /-mu/ does not occur with /ri-/ 'to go'.

/miku-/ 'to eat': /mikumunki/ 'you'll eat there, you'll go eat'

/puñu-/ 'to sleep': /puñumunki/ 'you'll sleep there, you'll go to sleep'

/čaya-/ 'to arrive': /čayan/ 'he arrives (there)', /čayamun/ 'he arrives here', /čayamusaq/ 'I'll arrive here', /čayamurqanki/ 'you arrived here'

/l̃uqsi-/ 'to leave': /l̃uqsin/ 'he leaves here (going away)', /l̃uqsimun/ 'he leaves for here'

/para-/ 'to rain': /paran/ 'it rains (there)', /paramun/ 'it rains here', /ñuqaman paramuwačkan/ 'its raining on me'

/qaywa-/ 'to extend, pass': /makikita qaywarimuway/ 'extend your hand (here) to me', /qaywamusayki/ 'I'll extend it to you'

/apa-/ 'to take, bring': /apamuway/ 'bring it to me', /aparaysimusaykiku/ 'we (excl.) will help you take it there'

/yayku-/ 'to enter': /yaykumuymanču/ 'may I come in?', /yaykukamuy/ 'come in!'

/l̃uqsimusaqču/ (from behind a closed door) 'may I leave (where I am, to join you)?'

/čayamusayki/ (in a letter, or in a song addressing one not present) 'I'll arrive to you'

7.2315. /-l̃a/, introduced with /-ča/ in 6.3, is often translated 'just' or 'only', but is common in polite speech where it is best left untranslated.

In dependent verbs /-l̃a/ may occur either in the stem or in the ending as /-spal̃a/, /-ptil̃a/, /-stil̃an/.

/sama-/ 'to breathe': /samaykačil̃awayku/ 'just let us (excl.) rest!'

/suwa-/ 'to rob': /suwarqul̄asusqanki/ 'but he just robbed you!'

/saksa-/ 'to be full (of food)': /saksaykul̄aniñam/ 'but I'm already full'

/časki-/ 'to receive': /časkil̄aykim/ 'I accept you' (your greeting)

/ruwa-/ 'to do': /ruwal̄aptin/ or /ruwaptil̄an/ 'if he'll just do it'

7.2316. /-čka/ is a durative suffix indicating action extended in time and during which another action may occur.

/riku-/ 'to see': /rikučkani/ 'I'm seeing, I see (right now)', /rikusučkanki/ or /rikučkasunki/ 'he's seeing you', /rikučkasaq/ 'I'll be seeing', /rikučkaptiy/ 'when I was (am, will be) seeing'

/aku-/ 'to chew': /kukaykitayá akurimučkay/ 'just keep chewing your coca as you go!'

7.24. Idiomatic Bases. Some bases require separate listing because (a) they are semantically unpredictable from the constituent stems and suffixes; (b) their form class is unpredictable; (c) they behave as stems in permitting regular occurrences of all modal suffixes; or (d) they have no underlying verb stems.

7.241. Semantically Irregular Bases. Examples:

/wača-/ 'to bear (non-human young), lay (eggs)': /wačaku-/ and /wačarqu-/ 'to bear (human young)'

/tari-/ 'to find, get': /taripa-/ 'to reach, catch up to'

/qati-/ 'to follow, drive (animals)': /qatikača-/ 'to chase'

/kuya-/ 'to love': /kuyapaya-/ 'to feel sorry for'

/puri-/ 'to walk': /puriyku-/ 'to act in another's behalf'

7.242. Bases Unpredictable as to Form Class. Examples:

/l̃aki-/ VI 'to be sad': /l̃akipaya-/ VTr 'to feel sorry for'

/pukl̃a-/ VI 'to play': /pukl̃apaya-/ VTr ' to annoy playfully, tease'

/qiču-/ VTr 'to take away': /qičunaku-/ VTr 'to take away from one another'

/tiya-/ VI 'to sit down': /tiyarari-/ VTr 'to sit on (as a means of accomplishing work)'

/ñaka-/ VTr 'to deprive': /ñakari-/ VI 'to suffer'

/riku-/ VTr 'to see': /rikuri-/ VI 'to appear'

/čiri-/ VTr 'to make cold': /čiriri-/ VI 'to become cold'

/kawsa-/ VI 'to live': /kawsari-/ VTr 'to revive'

7.243. Bases Which Function as Stems. The four bases of this type are given with examples of complex bases showing normally unpermissable modal suffix combinations. The morphophoneme /U/ occurs in the first two such bases, and /hamu-/ has the restriction that any modal except another /-mu/ may be added.

/rima-/ 'to speak': /rimayku-/ 'to greet':

/rimaykaykapuwayčik/ 'greet them for me!'

/asu-/ 'to move back, move over': /asuyku-/ 'to approach from a short distance': /asuykuykun/ 'he approaches'

/ha-/ (defective; 5.14): /hamu-/ 'to come': /hamukun/ 'he himself comes'

/kama-/ 'to fit, contain': /kamači-/ 'to order': /kamačiči-/ 'to cause to order'

7.244. *Bases Without Corresponding Verb Stems*. Examples:

/kusi/ Ar 'happy': /kusiku-/ VI 'to be happy', /kusiči-/ VTr 'to make happy, entertain'

/ruqu/ Nr 'hat': /ruquku-/ 'to put on one's (own) hat', /ruquči-/ 'to make one put his hat on'

/uya/ Nr 'face': /uyari-/ VTr 'to hear', /uyayku-/ VTr 'to accept', /uyaykača-/ 'to listen to'

/čul̄a/ Ar 'just one, single': /čul̄apa-/ VTr 'to untwist (thread), make single strands of'

/yana/ Nr-Ar 'black; sweetheart': /yanapa-/ VTr 'to help'

/hanl̄a/ Ar 'open-mouthed': /hanl̄ari-/ VI 'to open the mouth', /hanl̄apaku-/ VI 'to yawn', /hanl̄araya-/ VI 'to be awed, be dumbfounded'

/tuta/ Na 'night': /tutayku-/ VI 'to persist in an activity till night'

7.3. *Reduplicating Stems*. There are two productive reduplication patterns for the formation of VI verbs. These are largely onomatopoeic, and those which do not refer to the aural usually have a recognizable root. Transitive bases are regularly formed with /-či/ from stems of each type. All recorded examples are listed below.

7.31. Reduplicating stems of the first type show a bisyllabic root, generally with single or double repetition of the second syllable:

/bunrururu-/ 'to make a thundering noise'
/čal̄al̄al̄a-/ 'to make the sound of liquid falling onto a surface' (cf. /čal̄a-/ 'to sprinkle')
/čipipipi-/ 'to twinkle'
/čiwiwi-/ 'to whistle (wind)'
/čul̄ul̄ul̄u-/ 'to give off water in various spots' (cf. /čul̄u-/ 'to melt')
/katkatata-/ 'to shiver, tremble' (cf. /katka-/ 'to chew rapidly')
/kikikiki-/ 'to be radiant, in good health' (cf. /kiki-/ 'oneself')
/kiričičiči-/ 'to make a gnashing sound (teeth)'
/kunununu-/ 'to roar' (as a fire or river)
/kututututu-/ 'to make the sound of a male guinea-pig courting'
/l̄ipipi-/ 'to glitter' (cf. /l̄ipi/ 'brilliance')
/liqiqiqi-/ 'to make a repeated splashing noise'
/piltititi-/ 'to struggle furiously'
/qal̄al̄al̄a-/ 'to be luxuriant'
/qapapapa-/ 'to make the sound of slowly breaking wood'

/qul̄ul̄ul̄u-/ 'to growl (stomach)'

/rapapapa-/ 'to snap (flag in wind), crackle (fire)'

/raqaqaqa-/ 'to make a clapping noise'

/saqaqaqa-/ 'to rustle'

/taqaqaqa-/ 'to make a knocking noise'

/taqrarara-/ 'to make any slight sound of movement'

/tunrururu-/ (see /bunrururu-/ above)

/wititititi-/ 'to convulse; shimmer'

7.32. Stems of the second type consist generally of a pair of identical or similar syllables followed by /ya/:

/čančanya-/ 'to clink, clank'

/čiřiřya-/ 'to buzz'

/hikikya-/ 'to sob, whimper'

/laqlaqya-/ 'to make a snapping or cracking noise'

/liqlisya-/ 'to make a pattering sound; to make a noise like the bird /liqlis/; to talk back, be impertinent'

/l̄ipipya-/ (see /l̄ipipi-/ 7.31)

/ñawñawya-/ 'to mew'

/patpatya-/ 'to honk, beep'

/pul̄pulya-/ 'to make a boiling sound' (cf. /pul̄pu-/ 'to flow, gush')

/pumpunya-/ 'to beat (heart)'

/qiqičya-/ 'to make the sound of things rubbing together'

/qurqurya-/ 'to gurgle; to snore'

/taqtaqya-/ (see /taqaqaqa-/ 7.31)

/tiwtiwya-/ 'to make a strumming sound'

/uquqya-/ 'to cluck'

/warwarya-/ 'to buzz'

7.4. Compound Verbs.

7.41. The stem /ima-/ 'to happen to; to matter' following any other verb stem yields a compound stem belonging to the same form class as the first stem, and indicating possibility of occurrence of the action denoted by this stem.

/ri-imarqa/ 'he might have gone, maybe he went'

/tuku-imasaq/ 'I may finish'

/kusi-imakunqaku/ 'they might be happy'

/tabařdil̄uču hapi-imasunkiman/ 'maybe sunstroke could have gotten you'

7.42. The VTi verb /naya-/ 'to give desire' following both noun and verb stems yields a VTi stem indicating sensual or psychological necessity or, with weather verbs, proximity of occurrence.

/miku-nayawačkan/ 'I'm hungry' (lit. 'it gives me desire to eat')

/miku-nayačiwačkanki/ 'you're making me hungry'

/miku-nayačikun/ 'that makes people hungry'

/aqa-nayawan/ 'I want to drink chicha'

/ispa-nayawan/ 'I want to urinate'

/sipas-nayasunki/ 'you want a girl'

/tusu-nayasunki/ 'you want to dance'

/para-nayamučkan/ 'its about to rain'

naya-compounds refer only to such needs as food, sleep, sex, elimination, and entertainment; other expresions of similar meaning require predications with /muna-/ 'to love, want, need', e.g. /wasita munani/ 'I want a house'.

7.43. The stems /na-/ 'to do, act, keep doing whatever is being done' and /ni-/ 'to say, tell' following /ima/ 'what, something' yield the stems /imana-/ VTr 'to do something; to matter; to happen to' and /imani-/ VTr (see gloss of last example). /imani-/ occurs only in questions.

/imanarusunkitaq/ 'what happened to you?'

/manam imananču/ 'it doesn't matter'

/yaqaña imanarukusqapas mančakuymanta/ 'something almost happened to her from fright'

/imanasaqtaq/ 'what will I do?'

/imanisunkitaq/ (equivalent to /imatataq nisunki/) 'what does he tell you?'

7.44. /na-/ also follows the demonstrative pronouns to yield VTr verbs meaning 'to do thus, be thus, treat thus':

/čaynačkaptin/ 'when that was so'

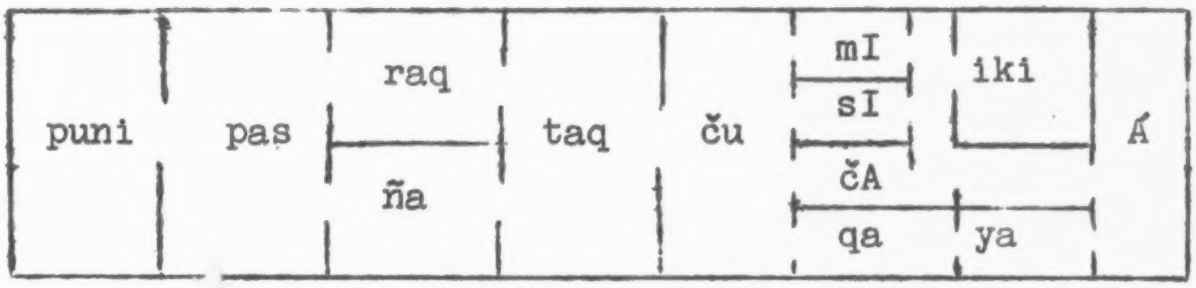
/kaynawan/ 'he does this to me, treats me like this'

CHAPTER 8: ENCLITICS

The Quechua enclitics are bound morphemes which occur with nouns and verbs, following any suffixes present in the same word, and with particles of classes ADV, COORD, and NEG. With one idiomatic exception, enclitics do not occur with modifiers in the noun phrase.

8.1. The thirteen Ayacucho enclitics are: /-puni/ 'definitely', /-pas/ 'even, also', /-raq/ 'still, yet', /-ña/ 'already', /-taq/ 'sequentially', /-ču/ (yes-no question, or negation, or rhetorical question), /-m/ ~ /-mi/ (comment of clause: speaker vouches for validity of statement), /-s/ ~ /-si/ (comment: speaker reports what he has heard), /-č/ ~ /-ča/ (comment: speaker is conjecturing), /-qa/ (topic of clause), /-iki/ (apologetic), /-ya/ (regretful), and /-á/ ~ /´/ (accent shift to final syllable of word; general emphasis).

Permissable combinations of enclitics can be read from the following diagram. Capitalized vowels are morphophonemes represanting alternation of the vowel with zero under conditions to be stated.



Special restrictions and general observations relating to distribution are the following. (1) An idiomatic combination

/-čusmi/ 'I think that' shows an otherwise unpermissable co-occurrence of /-sI/ and /-mI/. (2) /-iki/ occurs only with preceding /-mI/, /-sI/, or /-čA/. A free form /riki/ of the same morpheme otherwise occupies the same position in the clause. (3) Except in very limited circumstances, /-Á/ is preceded by /-mI/, /-sI/, /-čA/, or /-ya/. (4) The combination /-qayá/ Occurs only in a few idioms. (5) Several combinations reccur with such high frequency that they are considered idiomatic: /-ñataq/, /-čuqaya/, /-pasčá/.

8.2. Individual Enclitics and Idiomatic Combinations.

8.201. /-puni/ 'definitely, without a doubt, nothing but, nobody but':

/wasipunim/ 'it is definitely a house'
/rimpuni/ 'he undoubtedly goes'
/manapunim/ 'by no means!'
/ñuqapuni/ 'I myself, no one but me'

8.202. /-pas/ is best translated 'even', often 'too, also', but is somewhat weaker than these glosses suggest and is not always translatable. /-pas/ commonly occurs with both terms in additive construction.

/ñuqapas/ 'even I, I too'
/tusuymampasmi/ 'I'd even dance'
/qaripas warmipas/ 'both men and women'

/-pas/ always accompanies II stems when their function is indefinite rather than interrogative:

/pi/ 'who': /pipas/ 'someone, somebody, anyone, anybody'; /mana pipas/ 'nobody'

/haykapi/ 'when':/haykapipas/ 'whenever', /mana haykapipas/ 'never'

/ima/ 'what': /ima hampiwampas/ 'with some remedy'

/may/ 'where': /maypas purikunapaq/ or /may purikunapaqpas/ 'in order to go somewhere, for going anywhere'

/mayta rinan kaptimpas/ 'wherever he goes'

The unique case of an enclitic preceding (optionally) a suffix in the sequence /-pasčik/ has been described (5.255). See also /-pasčá/ (8.209).

8.203. /-raq/ 'still', 'yet' (in negative statements):

/karuraqmi/ 'it is still far'

/manaraq/ 'not yet'

/manaraq qawačkaptin/ 'before he saw' (lit. 'when he was not yet seeing'

/wal̄paqa wačanraqču/ 'the hen still doesn't lay, the hen isn't laying yet'

8.204. /-ña/ 'already, now', 'yet' (in questions), 'no more, no longer' (in negative statements):

/karuñam/ 'it is already far'

/paqarinña/ 'already tomorrow, right tomorrow'

/bisintipaqa kačkanñas musuq wasin/ 'they say Vicente already has a new house'

/manaña/ 'no more, no longer'

/tukurunkiñaču/ 'have you finished yet?'

This same morpheme also has a free form /ña/ ADV 'already', and the two are often used together redundantly. In this case it is always the adverb which adds other enclitics.

/ñam pero tutaña/ 'but its already night'
/ñam tařdiña/ 'its already late'
/ñaču tukurunkiña/ 'have you finish yet?'
/ña sa wal̄pa waqay oraña kačkasqa/ 'they say it was already time for the cock to crow'

When /-ña/ occurs in the same word with the derivational suffix /-l̄a/ the combination yields general augmentative meaning variously translated according to the form class of word. This is illustrated immediately below by /-l̄aña/ with adjective, pronoun, verb, and adverbials:

/sumaq/ 'beautiful': /sumaql̄aña/ 'very beautiful'
/ñuqa/ 'I': /ñuqal̄aña/ 'I by myself'
/rimaspa/ 'speaking': /rimaspal̄aña/ 'speaking a lot'
/kusikuy/ 'to be happy, happiness': /kusikuywan/ 'with happiness, happily': /kusikuyl̄awanña/ 'very happily'
/kusikuyl̄a/ 'by being happy': /kusikuyl̄aña/ 'by being very happy'
/apuraw/ 'quick': /apurawman/ 'quickly': /apurawl̄amanña/ 'very quickly'

However, a noun stem adding /-l̄aña/ is syntactically special in that it may occur (a) adverbially without inflectional ending, where it is equivalent in meaning to a noun phrase headed by /hina/ 'like', and (b) as a modifier in a noun phrase, where it is equivalent in meaning to a derivative with

/-sapa/ 'having lots of -' (6.21). The latter constitutes the sole exception to the rule that enclitics cannot occur with noun modifiers.

/punčaw/ 'day': /punčawl̃aña kančamučkan/ 'its shining like day'

/mitu/ 'mud': /mitul̃aña asnan/ 'it tastes like mud'

/piki/ 'flea': /pikil̃añas hatarin/ 'they say she got up very quickly (like a flea)'

/pikil̃aña runa/ 'a flea-infested person'

/aka/ 'feces': /akal̃aña siminwan/ 'with her feces-covered mouth'

See also /ñataq/ (8.205).

8.205. /-taq/ indicates subsequence where it is translated 'next, so, and so, then', or indicates contradiction of another's assertion.

/kasararuytaqyá/ 'so get married!'

/manam risaqtaqču/ 'then I won't go'

/manapastaqmi/ 'not even that'

/yanataq/ 'you're wrong, its black!'

/-taq/ is preceded by /-ña/ with very high frequency, especially when a clear sequence of events is involved.

/qanmi lasuq kanki; antunñataq feřuq; albeřtuñataq rinrin kučuq/ 'you'll be the lassoer, then Antonio the brander, then Alberto the ear-cutter'

/warmikiñataq maqarusunki/ 'so then your wife hit you'

/desembripim qal̃arin, tukuññataqmi mar̃su kil̃api/
'it starts in December, then finishes in March'
/takisunčik čay qatiqnintañataq/ 'now let's sing
the next part'

In a question introduced by an II stem it is very common for this stem, or the phrase in which it is the initial member, to add /-taq/ (the comment enclitics occur here with similar frequency, other enclitics or no enclitic much less frequently). /-taq/ is not translated here, but there is evidence that in some parts of the Ayacucho speech area only the non-initial question of a sequence may add /-taq/.

/imataq wasi/ 'what is a house?'
/ima wasitaq/ 'which house?'
/pil̃ataq yanapasurqanki/ 'who helped you?'

8.206. /-ču/ is negative-interrogative, occurring in yes-no questions, rhetorical questions, and negations.

In all yes-no questions, excepting a special type wherein the speaker repeats another's statement which he is not sure he heard correctly (9.3), /-ču/ is added to the word or phrase whose referent is in doubt, and question intonation /$^{241!}\downarrow$/ (9.2) accompanies the clause. No enclitic other than /-mI/, /-sI/, or /-čA/ may follow /-ču/ in questions.

/kay ñančum ayakučuman riq?/ 'Does this road go
to Ayacucho?'
/tabar̃dil̃uču hapirusunki?/ 'Did sunstroke get you?'
/ruwačkankitaqču?/ 'So are you doing it?'
/sil̃uykiwan aspispaču trinčičawanmi mikuni

niwarqanki?/ 'Did you tell me you eat with a
fork when you had scratched at it with your
nails?'

Negative questions are introduced by /manaču/:

/manaču hamunki?/ 'Won't you come?'

Rhetorical questions differ from yes-no questions only in that they carry regular statement intonation /^{231}↓/ (9.1). They are usually best rendered as suggestions or opinions with 'perhaps' or 'probably'.

/tabařdil̃uču hapirusunki./ 'Probably sunstroke
got you.'

/ñuqačuč./ 'Maybe I.'

/qawaykamusaq wasimpičus kačkan./ 'I'll go see if
he's home.' (lit. 'I'll go see, maybe he's home.')

A negation always contains a negator /mana/ (general) or /ama/ (prohibitory). The negator is always attributive to a noun derived with a governing suffix and to a dependent verb, and is idiomatically attributive to an adjective. Otherwise the negator functions as a phrase, usually adding a comment enclitic /-mI/, /-sI/, or /-čA/ (except in commands), and standing in directive construction with a substantival or verbal phrase as axis which adds /-ču/ in cross reference. The topic enclitic /-qa/ may follow /-ču/ in a negation, but a comment enclitic never occurs here; this is the converse of the situation in questions with /-ču/.

/manam wasiču./ 'Its not a house.' (cf. /mana
wasiyuq/ 'one who has no house, houseless')

/manam rinqaču./ 'He won't go.' (cf. /mana rispan/ 'not going, without going')

/manam imampasču./ 'Nothing else.'; /manam imapas kanču./ 'There is nothing.'

/manam al̄inču wasiqa./ 'The house isn't good.' (cf. /mana al̄in wasi/ 'a bad house, no-good house')

/amayá asičiwayču!' 'Don't make me laugh!'

The idiomatic combination /-čusmi/ indicates opinion with conviction, translatable usually as 'I think that':

/papal̄atačusmi yanuykusqanki./ 'I think you've only cooked potatoes.'

/manačusmi./ 'I don't think so.'

See also /-čuqaya/ (8.212).

8.207. /-mI/ (represented by /-m/ following a vowel or preceding /-iki/ or /-Á/, and by /-mi/ elsewhere) is generally added to that phrase in the clause which indicates the most important information in the clause, often relevant to a topic made explicit in the same clause (8.210). Contrasting with the other comment enclitics /-sI/ and /-čA/, /-mI/ indicates speaking from personal experience or conviction but is not translatable. Special distributional limitations of /-mI/ are the following: (a) only one occurrence per clause is permitted; (b) in questions /-mI/ occurs only with the phrase which is introduced by an II stem, or which adds /-ču/; (c) in negations with /-ču/, /-mI/ occurs only with the negator; and (d) /-mI/ does not occur in commands. Regarding (d), in sentences which are not commands /mana/ in negative construction regularly adds a comment enclitic.

As /-mI/ has been seen on virtually every page of this study, reflecting its frequency in Quechua, the examples below are chosen to exemplify the rules listed immediately above.

/imatam munanki/ 'what do you want?'

/kay ñančum ayakučuman riq/ 'does this road go to Ayacucho?' (with speaker's feeling that it does)

/manam kanču/ 'there isn't any' (cf. /amayá asičiwayču/ 'don't make me laugh!'

/qarikamamá kanqa; amamá warmiču/ 'they'll all be boys; not (I hope) girls!'

8.208. /-sI/ (with allomorphs /-s/ and /-si/ distributed exactly as the allomorphs of /-mI/) differs in meaning and distribution from /-mI/ only in that it indicates heresay rather than personal experience or conviction. It is the only comment enclitic occurring in a clause with a verb in the quotative tense.

/huksi kasqa huk mačučapiwan payača/ 'once upon a time there was an old man and an old woman'

/doña presentas wañurqun/ 'they say Doña Presenta has just died'

/wasimpičus kačkan/ 'have you heard if he's home?, do they say he's home?'

See also /-čusmi/ (8.206).

8.209. /-čA/ (with allomorphs /-č/ and /-ča/ distributed exactly as the allomorphs of /-mI/ and /-sI/) differs from the other comment enclitics in indicating conjecture.

/tařdimanča qawaykuq risaq/ 'I may go visit him tomorrow'

/hatun mančakuyča wačakuyqa/ 'giving birth is frightening (a great fright)'

/ñuqačuč/ 'I guess maybe I will'

/sudačkastinča yaku imata tumarurqa/ 'he might have drunk some water while sweating'

/manam aľinča/ 'its not good, I guess'

/imač qusayta pasampas/ 'something seems to be happening to my husband'

The combination /-pasčá/ occurs with high frequency, especially with conditional verbs, indicating emphatic conjecture:

/sinkaspanqa tusurunmankupasčá/ 'if they get drunk they might even dance!'

8.210. /-qa/ marks the topic of the clause, the phrase whose referent is to be commented upon. /-qa/ rarely occurs in a clause which does not contain a comment enclitic, but may do so since it is not subject to the same limitations as the latter; /-qa/ may occur more than once in the clause, and may occur in commands. However, /-qa/ does not occur with /-ču/ except in negations, does not occur with a negator (except in an idiom /imanasqataq manaqa/ 'why not?'), and is rather infrequent with independent verbs and following other enclitics. In questions /-qa/ functions expressly to change the topic of discourse.

/ačkam warmakunaqa čay iskwelapiqa/ 'there are many boys in that school' (lit. 'many are the boys in that school')

/amayá upaqa kayču/ 'don't be stupid!'

/manam karučuqa/ 'its not far'

/qul̄qipaqmi l̄amkačkaniqa/ 'I'm working for *money*!'

/qamqa hamunkiču/ 'and will *you* come?'

/imawantaq qatačankičikqa/ 'and what do you roof with?'

In one example /-qa/ occurs with every word in the sentence:

/qarikunaqa fasill̄aqa qul̄qitaqa kačarinkučuqaya/ 'men don't give up their money easily'

Here, however, not all words are marked in parallel fashion as topics, since with the verb /-qa/ appears in the idiomatic sequence /-čuqaya/ (q.v. 8.212).

8.211. /-iki/, occurring only with comment enclitics, indicates slight apology or humility in speaking, and is roughly translatable as 'anyway', 'well,...', or 'of course'.

/sapal̄ayqa imaynamá tukurusaq? hatun čakramiki/ 'all by myself how could I finish; its a big field'

/para tempuqa manamiki atikunču/ 'well, during rainy season its not possible'

/risaqčiki/ 'I may go anyway'

A free form /riki/ of this morpheme occurs in environments where /-iki/ cannot occur, immediately following the phrase modified:

/čayaruptinkuqa riki pisipay-pisipay kačkasqa/
'when they arrived, of course, he was very tired'

8.212. /-ya/ indicates regret or resignation generally, although it occurs most frequently accompanied by /-Á/ (8.213) or in idioms where it is not translatable.

/wasiyya/ 'oh, my poor house!'

/mikuymanya mana kiruy nanawaptinmi/ 'I'd eat if my tooth didn't ache'

Idiomatic /-čuqaya/ may be rendered as apologetic denial or as regretful rhetorical question:

/mikuymanñačuqaya, mikuramuniñam/ 'how could I eat any more; I've just eaten', 'I'm afraid I couldn't eat any more; I've just eaten'

/ñuqačuqaya/ 'I'm afraid it wasn't me', 'how could *I* have done it?'

Some idioms with /-ya/ are:

/waqaya/ 'there it is!'

/añal̃awya/ 'wonderful!'

/imaynaya/ 'perhaps'

/ičaya/ 'perhaps'

8.213. /-Á/ (represented by stress shift from penultimate to final syllable with noun stems and with the particle /ari/ 'yes', by /-wá/ with the defective verb stem /haku/

'let's go', and by /-á/ with the comment enclitics or /-ya/) is a general emphatic. It occurs with stems only in polite or intimate address.

/taytáy/ 'sir' (lit. 'my gentleman!')
/mamáy/ 'madam'
/warmíy/ 'my wife' (used only in private)
/arí/ 'yes' (polite)
/hakuwá/ or /hakuyá/ 'let's go!'
/manamá/ 'no!'
/imaynamá/ 'how indeed!'
/wasinsá/ 'he says its his house!'
/risaqčá/ 'I certainly plan to go!'
/taytaykipasčá yačačisunki/ 'certainly your father will teach you'
/apuraykuyyá/ 'hurry up!'
/sumaqtayá wankirquy/ 'bundle him up well!'
/kasararuytaqyá/ 'so get married!'
/qamñayá al̄inl̄a/ 'good luck!'
/amayá rimayñaču/ 'don't speak any more!'
/animakuykusunyá/ 'let's get in the spirit!'
/čayqayá/ 'that's the one!'

CHAPTER 9: INTONATION

A complete analysis of intonation in Ayacucho Quechua has not been attempted. The four contours discussed in this chapter are basic in the sense that an adequate analysis of segmental phenomena must make reference to them; moreover, they require representation in any practical orthography.

The highest pitch level before a terminal contour is the head of the intonation, and when this is not also the last pitch level it may occur at any stressed syllable in the macrosegment. Rising terminal contour entails an automatic shift of stress to the last syllable, where the highest pitch level also falls.

9.1. Statement Intonation. /$^{231}\downarrow$/, written as period, is an immediate constituent (IC) of a clause which is final in a sentence and is not interrogative, imperative, or exclamatory.

/ñuqaqa risaqmi./ 'I will go.'

/arí./ 'Yes.'

/aw./ 'Yes.'

/tabařdil̃uču hapirusunki./ 'Maybe sunstroke got you.'

9.2. Interrogative-Imperative-Exclamatory. /$^{241}\downarrow$/, written as question mark following an unstressed syllable or as exclamation point, accompanies long-answer questions introduced by II stems, yes-no questions containing the čuenclitic, commands, interjections, and exclamations.

/tabařdil̄uču hapirusunki?/ 'Did sunstroke get you?'

/pukl̄ankiču?/ 'Will you play?'

/imawantaq pukl̄anki?/ 'What will you play with?'

/ripuy!/ 'Go away!'

/ripuyyá!/ 'Beat it!'

/añal̄áw!/ 'Wonderful!'

/manapunimá!/ 'Definitely not!'

/sumaqmi kasqa!/ 'It's beautiful!'

9.3. Special Question Intonation. /^{24}↑/, with shift of accent to the final syllable, is written as question mark following the accented syllable. It occurs in several circumstances. (1) The listener has not heard well, and asks for a repetition. (2) The listener changes the topic, and in doing so asks the previous speaker to comment on the new topic in the same vein that he was commenting on the old one. In questions of this type the final syllable is always the qa-enclitic or topic marker. (3) Having made a statement, the speaker asks his listener's approval. A single form of high frequency, the last example below, represents this type.

/pukl̄ankí?/ 'You'll play?'

/tabařdil̄ú?/ 'Sunstroke?'

/imaninkím?/ 'What did you say?' (idiomatic)

/imatá?/ 'What?', 'Huh?' (idiomatic)

/al̄inmi; qamqá?/ '(I'm) fine; and you?'

/wasiyqá?/ 'And (what about) my house?'

/hinaspaqá?/ 'And then (what happened)?'

/aw?/ 'Isn't it?', 'Don't they?', 'Won't he?', etc.; Sp. '¿no?' (idiomatic)

/paqarinña rinki, aw?/ 'You'll go tomorrow, won't you?'

9.4. Internal Pause Intonation. /$^{232}|$/, written as comma or semicolon, separates constituents of coordinative constitutes, dependent and independent clauses, and sentences in parataxis. It is generally optional, but its use is regular in parataxis and in coordinative constitutes where the construction is unmarked. Semicolon rather than comma is written to facilitate reading of Quechua texts and to avoid run-on sentences in the glosses.

/ñuqapiwan, qampiwan, paypiwan ruwasun./ 'Let's me, you, and him do it.'

/iskay, kimsa wasim./ 'There are two or three houses.'

/maču-mačusuwan, maqta uruwan tuparamuni./ 'I met up with a snake, with a great big one.'

/kumpañasuptikiqa, apurawman čayanki./ 'If he accompanies you, you'll arrive quickly.'

/qamñataq maskaramunki; wak urqupi suyasqayki./ 'You go look; I'll wait for you on that hill.'

CHAPTER 10: SYNTAX

In this chapter we discuss endocentric constructions, exocentric constructions, clauses, and sentences, in that order.

10.1. *Endocentric Constructions*. These are (1) subordinate or *attributive*, and (2) coordinate: *additive*, *alternative*, and *appositive*.

10.11. *Attributive Constructions*. Immediate constituents (ICs) are *attribute* and *head*. Fixed order of constituents is found only when the head is a substantive. The head may be: substantive or substantive phrase, verb or verb phrase, objective or connective constitute, or clause.

10.111. The substantival phrase built by an attributive construction is nominal, adjectival, preadjectival, or numerical, according to the form class of the head. The last three types are usually embedded in a larger phrase whose head is a noun, and they are described below as complex examples of their respective form classes as attributes in the noun phrase.

Attributes in the noun phrase, listed in the order in which they occur, are: (1) pronoun; (2) numeral; (3) negator; (4) preadjective; (5) adjective; (6) noun.

10.1111. The initial element in the noun phrase may be a demostrative pronoun, or a personal or dependent pronoun in the *pa*-case (requiring cross-reference to person in the head), /Iapa/ 'all', /huk/ 'some'; another', or /sapa/ 'each, every'.

The PROdep /sapa-/ (usually /sapal̄a-/) is special in that it is simply inflected for person, as when it functions as a subject, and is in cross-reference with the head.

/čay wasi/ 'that house'
/ñuqapa wasiy/ 'my house'
/kikiypa wasiy/ 'my own house'
/sapal̄ay wasiy/ 'my only house'
/sapa wasi/ 'each house'
/l̄apa wasi/ 'all the houses'
/l̄apa huklaw l̄aqtamanta hamuqkuna/ 'all those who come from other towns', lit. 'all other town-from comers'

10.1112. General numerals NUMu and NUMg occur as attributes, as do numerical phrases built by attributive, additive, and alternative constructions, or a combination of these (4.141). The attributive numerical phrase shows NUMu attributive to NUMg.

/iskay wasi/ 'two houses'
/iskay čunka wasi/ 'twenty houses'
/čay iskay čunka wasi/ 'those twenty houses'

10.1113. The negators occur as attributes in substantive phrases only when the head is an adjective or a noun derived with a governing suffix.

/mana al̄in/ 'no-good, bad'
/mana qul̄qiyuq/ 'penniless'
/mana upyana/ 'undrinkable'

10.1114. Preadjectives regularly occur only in preadjectival or adjectival phrases, though they do modify nouns in many idioms (e.g. /kusa sara/ 'ripe corn', /anča para/ 'a lot of rain'). The preadjectival phrase shows the chameleon preadjective with a PREAD stem, or the combination /l̄umpay nisyu/ 'too strongly'.

/anča al̄in wasi/ 'very good house'

/al̄i-al̄in wasi/ 'very good house'

/l̄umpa-l̄umpay unqusqa/ 'very gravely ill'

10.1115. The adjective phrase contains NEG and PREAD attributes, as seen above, or the Ar /mas/ 'more, most':

/mas sumaq warmi/ 'more (most) beautiful woman'

When nesting of attributive constructions shows two or more adjectives together, their order reveals form class differences on a level not hitherto considered; from the observed instances five such classes in their relative order may be roughly identified as terms for quantity, quality, size, age, and color.

/ačka al̄in hatun musuq puka wasikuna/ 'many good big new red houses'

10.1116. Any noun may be attributive to another noun, with the exceptions that the q-, sqa-, and na-nominalizations, and the ntin- and yuq-derivatives, do not occur as attributes.

/yaku manka/ 'water pot'

/punčaw puriy/ 'a day's walk'

/samay punčaw/ 'rest day, resting day'

The attributive noun may be inflected for case (other than /-ta/) and for allocation:

/yaku mankapi yaku/ 'the water in the water pot'

/wasiki punku/ 'the entrance to your house'

/wasikipa punkun/ 'the door of your house'

However, only the pa- and pi-cases are common with noun modifiers. When a noun inflected for case precedes a nominalization it is the verb stem rather than the derived stem that is modified (10.112).

10.1117. In one idiom a clause is attributive to a substantive: /pim kanki ora/ 'time of day when visibility is poor, twilight (esp. morning)' lit. 'who-are-you hour'.

10.112. The attribute to a verb or to an objective or connective constitute is termed adverbial. Adverbials are substantive phrases, of both uninflected and case-inflected types, and particles (ADV, NEG). The labels "noun", "adjective", etc. are used below to refer to phrases as well as stems. Examples of adverbial phrases built by coordinate constructions are included in 10.12-4; prepositional phrases are treated in 10.21.

10.1121. Any substantive, except Na and nominalizations under conditions to be specified, occurs as an adverbial when inflected for case other than accusative /-ta/ or possessive /-pa/. However, adverbial adjectives, preadjectives, and numerals of this type occur only as substitutes for noun phrases, and are not frequent. A set of idiomatic adverbials in the pa-case has been listed (4.23103).

/qanwanmi risaq./ 'I'll go with you.'

/Iaqtata rinki kaypi suyanaykama./ 'You'll go to town while I wait here.'

/ačkam warmakunaqa čay iskwelapiqa./ 'Many are the boys in that school.'

/hatumpi yačan./ 'He lives in a big (house).'

/sikimpa wičiykunmi./ 'He fell on his rump.'

Adjectives, except Aa, and preadjectives regularly occur adverbially in the ta-case. This is true also of the na-nominalization, though /-nata/ signals a direct object with at least equal frequency.

/al̄intam ruwan./ 'He does it well.'

/yuraqtam pintarqani./ 'I painted it white.'

/l̄umpaytam nanawan./ 'It hurts me intensely.'

/upal̄away puñunayta!/ 'Shut up so I can sleep!'

/ruway ruwananta!/ 'Do it so that he can do it!' (ambiguous with objective constitute meaning 'Do his duty!')

10.1122. Na nouns never add a case suffix when heading a phrase introduced by /sapa/ 'each', but elsewhere they optionally add /-ta/ (except /qaynimpa/, /yapa/, /ñaqa/, /sapa/, and /paqarin/) or, when reference is to the future, /-man/. The use of /-ta/ is, however, considered clumsy except with the borrowed Na /tařdi/ 'afternoon', /semana/ 'week', /ora/ 'hour', and /tempu/ 'time, season'.

/sapa punčawmi rin./ 'He goes every day.'

/tuta l̄amkanqa./ or /tutata l̄amkanqa./ 'He'll work at night.'

/paqarinnintinman rinqa./ 'he'll go on the following day.'

Time numerals (NUMh) add /-ta/ when adverbial:

/las nuybita čayan./ 'He arrives at nine.'

The *sqa*-nominalization optionally adds /-ta/ when adverbial indicating condition in which the action is realized, but commonly does so only in circumstances where confusion with a direct object is impossible (as in an intransitive clause).

/kusisqa wañurura./ or /kusisqata wañurura./ 'He died happy.'

10.1123. Types of adverbials which are never inflected are: (1) adverb (ADV); (2) Aa adjective; (3) *q*-nominalization indicating purpose of motion with VTm verb; (4) *y*-nominalization adding /-l̄a/ and indicating means of acting; (5) noun adding /-l̄aña/ and indicating manner of action; and (6) /mana/ in dependent clauses.

/ñamá tukučkaniña./ 'I'm already finishing.'

/hawka yačan./ 'He lives peacefully.'

/payquqmi hataričkan./ 'He's getting up to eat.'

/kal̄payl̄a taripasun./ 'By running we'll catch up.'

/pikil̄añas hatarin./ 'She got up (as fast) as a flea.'

/manaraq riptinmi niwara./ 'Before he went he told me'

10.113. Dependent and independent clauses are discussed in 10.3.

10.12. *Additive and Alternative Constructions*. The constituents of additive and alternative constitutes are substantives or substantive phrases, verbs or verb phrases, objective constitutes, and clauses. When the construction is not marked by a coordinator or by inflection, the constituents are usually separated by the comma intonation.

10.121. Additive Constitutes. When the constituents are substantives, all but the final one commonly add /-wan/ or /-piwan/ (4.2323). The COORD /i/ 'and' occurs whatever the type of the constituents, but its use is not regular except in telling time. In numerical phrases the construction is marked by /-NIyuq/ (4.141). The ADV /ima/ 'too' often follows the last constituent.

/ñuqapiwan, qampiwan, paypiwan ruwasun./ 'Let's me, you, and him do it.'

/wasiwan tuři/ or /wasi, tuři/ 'the house and the tower'

/wasipiwan tuřipi/ or /wasipi tuřipi/ or /wasi-tuřipi/ 'in the house and (in the) tower'

/rin waynampata, hinaspan nin/ 'she went to her lover's, (and) having done this told him'

/rimarirurqa, qawarirukurqa ima/ 'he spoke and looked around too'

/wil̄amuyčik uyarisqaykičikta rikusqaykičikta ima!/ 'Go tell what you-all have seen and heard!'

/payñataq kayta uyariruspan apurawl̄amanña kutirin wasinta, čayaruspanñataq wičqakaramun punkuta./ 'Having heard this he quickly returned home, and having arrived he closed the door.'

10.122. Alternative Constitutes. Alternative construction is usually marked by one of the COORDs /iča/ and /o/ 'or', /ni/ 'nor'.

/payču iča ñuqaču?/ 'He or I?'

/manaña wasi ni patyumampas l̃uqsiqču./ 'She no longer went to the house or yard.'

/munanki mana munanki rimasqaykitam kumplinki, mana čayqa balyarusaykim./ '(whether) you like it or you don't like it, you'll do what you said or I'll shoot you.'

10.13. Appositive Construction. A constituent in an appositive constitute may be (1) a noun or noun phrase; (2) a demonstrative pronoun or general numeral; (3) a personal pronoun, dependent pronoun, or noun (phrase) in the pa-case; (4) a na-, sqa-, or q-nominalization, or a NIyuq- or NIntin- derivative; or (5) a clause, if the other constituent is a demonstrative pronoun. Appositive construction is very productive in Quechua, mainly because of type (4).

10.131. The constituents need not occur consecutively, and if consecutive have no fixed order. If inflected, both constituents are inflected alike, except that if consecutive only the second must be inflected.

(1) /adriyan warmača/ 'the boy Adrian'

/tayta qirar̃du/ 'Sir Gerard' (standard form of address)

/maču-mačusuwan, maqta uruwan tuparamuni./ 'I met up with a great big (one), with a snake.'

(2) /runakunawan tupan kimsawan./ 'He met some men,
three of them.'; see also (5)

(3) /yačani paypataqa imam ruwasqanta./ 'I know that
(thing) of his, what he did.'

(4) /ruwana wasi/ 'house that has to be built'
/ruwasqan wasi/ 'the house he built'
/l̄amkaq runa/ 'working man' lit. 'worker man'
/qul̄qiyuq warmi/ 'a woman with money'
/qul̄qiyuq warmita munani./ 'I want a woman with
money.'; /warmita munani qul̄qiyuqta./ 'I want a
woman, one with money.'

(5) /yačasaqčá risaq niwanqačus, čayta./ 'I'll go find
out if he'll tell me "I'll go", that's what.'

10.132. In clause such as /rikuni ruwasqan wasita/ (or optionally /rikuni ruwasqanta wasita/, /rikuni wasi ruwasqanta/, /rikuni wasita ruwasqanta/) 'I see the house he built', there are neither formal ncr semantic criteria for choosing between these analyses: (1) /ruwasqan/ and /wasi/ are in apposition; (2) /wasi/ is the object of /ruwa-/, and this objective constitute is nominalized. The presence or absence of /-ta/ is not relevant since the nominalized clause differs from the clause proper only in that /-ta/ is optional, and the *q*-nominalization in fact differs from the other three in prohibiting /-ta/ altogether: /mesa ruwaq/ 'table-maker'; /munani qina tokayta/ 'I want to play the quena'; /qina tokanaymi/ 'I have to play the quena' (6.15).

If /paypa/ 'his' is added to the test clause to give

/rikuni paypa ruwasqan wasita/, with the same meaning, the first analysis is required, and the three constituents are in apposition. If /-pa/ is removed from the pronoun, the second analysis is necessary since /pay/ can have only subject function in the environment. In /yačani wasi ruwasqanta/ 'I know he built a house' analysis (2) is preferred because /wasi/ alone cannot be an object of /yača-/ 'to know (a fact), to know how'.

10.2. Exocentric Constructions. These are (1) directive: prepositional, conjunctive, negative, and objective; (2) connective; and (3) predicative.

10.21. The prepositional phrase consists of a preposition (PREP) as director preceding a substantive phrase as axis. There are three PREPs: /para/ 'before' is used only in telling time (i.e. preceding NUMh); /asta/ 'until, as far as' may precede any substantive phrase, and this phrase may be in the kama-case in cross reference; the chameleon PREP precedes only nouns and general numerals.

/des para las nuybi/ 'ten to nine'
/asta uktubri kil̃akama/ 'till the month of October'
/urqun-urqun/ 'from hill to hill'
/iskay-iskay/ 'by twos'
/punča-punčaw/ 'from day to day, daily'

Two prepositional phrases of the last type in additive construction may be contracted such that each is represented by just one of its forms:

/urqun-wayqun/ 'through hill and dale'

10.22. The conjunctive construction shows a conjunction or subordinator (SUBORD) as director and an independent clause as axis:

/mikuymanya peru kiruymi nanawan/ 'I would eat, but my tooth hurts'

/porke ña sa wal̄pa waqay oraña kačkasqa/ 'because it was already time for the cock to crow'

10.23. Negative construction shows a negator (NEG) as director preceding, though not necessarily immediately preceding, a substantive phrase, adverbial, direct object, or independent verb form cross-referenced with /-ču/ as axis.

/manam čayqa al̄inču./ 'That's not good.'

/ama rinkiču!/ 'You won't go!'

/manam hatun l̄aqtapi yačaqkunaqa yačanču čayta./ 'People who live in big cities don't know that.'

10.24. *Objective Constitutes*. The objective constitute contains a transitive verb as director and a direct object as axis. The direct object is a substantive (phrase) in the *ta*-case, or a clause, depending on the class of the verb.

VTr verbs have as objects substantives or nominalizations generally, but restrictions on certain verbs can be noted. (1) /yača-/ 'to know (a fact), to know how' takes only a PROdem or a nominalization as object, or a clause when (2) /yača-/ and /qawa-/ 'to watch, learn, find out' have as object an independent clause containing /-čus/, translated 'if...' or 'whether...'.

/yačani risqanta/ 'I know that he went'

/yačani čayta ruwayta/ 'I know how to do that'

/qawaykamusaq wasimpičus kačkan/ 'I'll go see whether he's home'

Most VTm and VTi take as objects only substantives referring to places, and the VTm can only have an object when the actor is a person.

/čay runaqa ayakučutam rin./ 'That man goes to Ayacucho.' (but /čay ñanqa ayakučuman rin./ 'That road goes to Ayacucho.')

/ayakučuta paračkan./ 'Its raining on Ayacucho.'

But a VTi subclass of /yarqa-/ 'to make hungry' and /naya-/ 'to give desire' takes only objects referring to persons:

/ñuqata yarqawačkan./ 'I'm hungry.'

VTc takes as object (1) an independent clause in direct quotation, (2) a sqa-nominalization in indirect quotation, or (3) a substantive referring to recipient of information or questioning.

/risaq niwara./ 'He told me "I'll go".'

/risqantam niwara./ 'He told me he went.'

/ñuqatam niwara./ 'He told me.'

First and second person pronouns in the ta-case stand in cross-reference with the actor-object inflection of the verb, but these endings do not govern the ta-case. Thus, for example, /ñuqata rimawan/, never */ñuqata riman/, 'he speaks to me' but /ñuqamanta rimawan/ or /ñuqamanta riman/ 'he talks about me'.

10.25. Connective Constitutes. The connective constitute contains a VE verb /ka-/ 'to be', /tuku-/ 'to pretend to be', or /bali-/ 'to be worth' as connector, and a substantive (phrase) as predicate attribute. A zero form of /ka-/ occurs as non-durative third person present indicating permanent condition.

/payqa mayistrum./ 'He is a teacher.'

/payqa mayistrum kačkan./ 'He is (temporarily) a teacher.'

/qamqa mayistrum kanki./ 'You are a teacher.'

/ačkam warmakunaqa čay iskwelapiqa./ 'Many are the boys in that school.','There are many boys in that school.'

/hatun mančakuyča wačakuyqa./ 'Giving birth is a frighful thing.'

/wasim ruwananqa./ 'A house is what he has to build.'

10.26. *Predicative Construction*. Every occurrence of a verb represents a *predication*, the ICs of which are an actor, which may or may not be represented by a separate substantive (phrase) agreeing in person with the verb ending, and a predicate. The predicate may be (1) *intransitive*, consisting simply of a verb or verb phrase, (2) *transitive*, consisting of an objective constitute, or (3) *equational*, consisting of a connective constitute.

10.3. *Clauses*. Clauses are first classed as intransitive, transitive, and equational, following the types of the predicates. Transitive and equational clauses contain only verbs of the respective classes similarly named, but the intransitive clause is not thus restricted:

equational: /iskay solismi balin./ 'It's worth 2 soles.'
intransitive: /balinmi./ 'It's expensive.'
transitive: /wasitam ruwačkan./ 'He's building a house.'
intransitive: /ruwačkanmi./ 'He's building.'

The form /kan/ 'there is' (lit. 'exists.') occurs only in intransitive clauses:

/manam kanču./ 'There isn't any.'
/lapisniymi kan./ 'I have a pencil.'

The na-nominalization functioning as actor in an intransitive clause indicating obligation constitutes a special type in that (a) /kan/ usually occurs in its zero form, and (b) unlike the nominalization in other functions, word order is completely free, often giving the appearance of a transitive clause.

/mesa ruwananmi./, /mesata ruwananmi./, or
/ruwananmi mesata./ 'He has to make a table.'
/mesa ruwananmi karqa./ 'He had to make a table.'

By another classification the clause, whether intransitive, equational, or transitive, is either independent or dependent. The dependent clause is one containing a verb inflected for subordination (5.25) or one introduced by a subordinator (10.22), and is attributive to another clause of any type.

Finally we distinguish clauses which are embedded in other clauses; these are the clauses functioning as objects

(10.24), and the nominalized clauses which function as substantives. The final element of the nominalized clause is usually the verb, though the *na*-, *sqa*-, and *y*-nominalizations, when themselves objects, permit their own objects to follow. In this same circumstance, only the last word belonging to the nominalization requires object inflection (cf. 6.15; 10.132).

In the complex sentence below we see each of the clause types exemplified: a transitive clause has as object a direct quotation which is an intransitive clause containing an adverbial nominalization which in turn includes a dependent clause.

/nirqam tabařdil̃u hapikun sudačkastin yaku
tumasqaqa./ 'He said "sunstroke catches (one)
in the condition of having drank water while
sweating".'

10.4. *Sentences*.

Major sentences are *simple*, consisting of a single clause (plus intonation), *compound*, consisting of two or more clauses in coordination, or *complex*, containing one or more clauses of the dependent and embedded types.

Minor sentences are *interjections* (INTERJ), *exclamations*, *assenters* (ASSENT), *vocatives*, and *response forms*:

/añal̃áw!/ 'Wonderful!'
/ima sumaq!/ 'How pretty!'
/arí./ 'yes!'
/bonos-diyas./ 'Good morning.'
/taytal̃áy!/ 'Oh Sir!'

/l̆amkaspaymi./ 'Because I'm working.'

Sentences of any type may occur paratactically with a single intonation other than the comma type. Two or more major sentences in parataxis are regularly separated by the comma intonation:

> /huk punčaw payačaqa pinsarirukun l̆apa imamanta, hinaspan weřtampa punkumpiqa breyamanta ruwasqa ořtelanota čurarun./ 'One day the old woman thought things over; then she put a man made of tar in the entrance of the garden.'

APPENDIX 1: IRREGULAR SUBSTANTIVE DERIVATION

A. Suffixes. Asterisk indicates root occurring as stem in another dialect.

/-či/, prob. the causative voice suffix of verb derivation, in: /puñuči/ (a kind of soup) < /puñu-/ 'to sleep'; /patači/ (a kind of soup) < */pata-/ 'to fold', or */p'ata-/ 'to tear with the teeth'; /wayuči/ 'storage pot hung from ceiling' < /wayu-/ 'to hang'.

/-čiku/: /mančačiku/ 'monster, fright, fearsome thing', prob. back formation < /mančačikuq/ 'that which frightens'.

/-ču/: /pukuču/ 'bladder' < /puku-/ 'to blow'; /rankaču/ 'frost' < /ranka/ 'frozen'; /takaču/ 'tight (of clothing)' < /taka/ of same meaning; /kil̃inču/ (a kind of falcon) < */kil̃in/ of same meaning; /pičinču/ 'sparrow' < /pičiw/ of same meaning; /al̃aču/ 'hoe' < /al̃a-/ 'to dig up'; /qačaču/ 'scab' < /qača/ 'dirty, messy'; /tunquču/ 'windpipe; larynx' < */tunqur/ 'esophagus; larynx'.

/-ka/: /pitaka/ 'fiber bag' < /pita/ 'fiber'; /sipaka/ 'girl' (deprecatory) < /sipas/ 'girl'.

/-kama/, otherwise the case suffix, in: /sapakama/ 'each one' < /sapa/ 'each'; /usakama/ 'lousy' < /usa/ 'louse'. This morpheme was a noun stem in Proto-Quechua.

/-ku/ is a deprecatory and affectionate diminutive, regular in the Cuzco dialect: /mamaku/ 'old woman' < /mama/ 'woman, mother, Madam'; /taytaku/ 'old man' < /tayta/ 'father, gentleman'; /waytaku/ 'penis' (vulgar) < /wayta/ 'flower';

/aysaku/ (a kind of pitcher) < /aysa-/ 'to take out'; /waqtaku/ (any instrument for beating) < /waqta-/ 'to chop, beat'. The last two examples may be historically distinct from the others.

/-li/, similar in function to the q-nominalization, but augmentative, in: /mančali/ 'coward' < /manča-/ 'to fear'; /waqali/ 'crybaby' < /waqa-/ 'to cry'; /unquli/ 'one who is always sick' < /unqu-/ 'to get sick'; /wañuli/ 'moribund person' < /wañu-/ 'to die'.

/-lu/: /suytulu/ 'elongated; ovoid' < /suytu/ of same meaning, /suytu-/ 'to squat'.

/-l̄i/: /sal̄al̄i/ (or /sal̄al̄a/) 'stony ground' < /sal̄a/ of same meaning; /munal̄i/ 'covetous' < /muna-/ 'to desire'. Cf. /-l̄i/ in Appendix 2.

/-l̄u/: /muqul̄u/ 'whip with wieghted lashes' < /muqu/ 'knob'; /siqul̄u/ 'whip' < /siqu/ 'tight'; /čiwil̄u/ (a kind of thrush) < /čiwi/ 'bright color'; /čupul̄u/ 'lymph from sore' < /čupu/ 'blister, boil'; /kusil̄u/ 'monkey' < /kusi/ 'happy'.

/-n/ of third person otherwise, in: /kanan/ 'now' < /kana/ 'what is to be' < /ka-/ 'to be'; /čiqan/ 'truth' < */čiqa/ of same meaning; /patan/ 'edge' < /pata/ 'top'; /čanin/ 'fair value, one's money's worth' < */čani/ 'value'. In each of these the attributive derivationals /-ča/ and /-l̄a/ precede /-n/: /patal̄ampi/ 'just at the edge'.

/-nkiču: /purinkiču/ 'wanderer', recutting < /purinkiču/ 'will you walk?'.

/-nta/: /qurunta/ 'corncob' < /quru/ 'clipped, cut'.

/-p/ of /čiqap/ 'truth' < */čiqa/ of same meaning, and /haykap/ 'when' < /hayka/ 'how much' is identified with the case suffix /-pi/ 'in, on'. The common postvocalic /-p/ of older texts is an allomorph of the case suffix /-pa/.

/-pa/, otherwise the case suffix, in: /kačipa/ 'salty cheese' < /kači/ 'salt'; /miskipa/ 'condiment' < /miski/ 'sweet'; /punkipa/ 'swollen eyes' < /punki/ 'swollen'; /wisčupa/ (a folk remedy for smallpox and measles) < /wisču-/ 'to throw out'; /qarampa/ 'corn husk' < /qara/ 'husk, skin'.

/-řu/: /kakařu/ (nickname for fox) < /kaka/ of same meaning; /pičinčuřu/ 'sparrow' < /pičinču/, /pičiw/ of same meaning; /qačařu/ (a kind of bird) < /qača/ 'dirty' (?).

/-s/: /suqus/ 'cane, reed' < /suqu-/ 'to suck'; /kučus/ 'elbow' < /kuču/ 'angle, corner'; /runtus/ (a variety of potato) < /runtu/ 'egg' (?); /linlis/ (a type of fungus) < */linli/ 'olluco dried by freezing and squeezing' (?). This /-s/ is perhaps to be identified with the aspect suffix /-s/ which is some northern Peruvian dialects is a nominalizer equivalent to Aya. /-sqa /.

/-sti/: /qil̄usti/ 'warbler' < /qil̄u/ 'yellow'.

/-stu/: /l̄uqistu/ 'left-handed' < /l̄uqi/ 'left'.

/-ta/: /sukuta/ 'veil' < /suku/ 'cover'. Cf. /-tu/.

/-ti/ 'body aperture': /uquti/ 'colon, large intestine' < /uqu/ 'wet'; /mil̄puti/ 'esophagus, gullet' < /mil̄pu-/ 'to swallow'; /puputi/ 'navel' < /pupu/ of same meaning; /čiputi/ 'anus' < /čipu/ 'hole which closes by itself (as a flower, or hole in mud)'; /uqiti/ 'anus' (vulgar) < /uqi/ 'grey' or < Sp.

ojete. Perhaps unrelated /waqati/ (syn. /waqali/) 'crybaby' < /waqa-/ 'to cry'.

/-tu / : /qiqatu/ 'natural chalk for drawing' < /qiqa/ of same meaning; /qalatu/ 'nude' < /qala/ 'bare, peeled, free of hair'; /kawkatu/ 'mouth harp' < /kawka/ of same meaning.

/-tu/ ~ /-ta/ diminutive borrowd from Spanish: /misitu/ 'pussy' < /misi/ 'cat'; /urpitu/ 'dove; bird' < /urpi/ 'mourning dove'; /kal̄ita/ 'street' < /kal̄i/ of same meaning; /l̄ikl̄ita/ 'small shawl' < /l̄ikl̄a/ 'shawl'.

/-yi/: /čankayi/ 'crotch' < /čanka/ 'inner thigh'.

/-ysan/: /kumuysan/ 'one in a semi-trance, for some reason not completely aware of his surroundings' < /kumu/ 'bent'; /puñuysan/ 'sleepyhead' < /puñu-/ 'to sleep'; /wañuysan/ 'moribund, deathlike' < /wañu-/ 'to die'; /unquysan/ 'one who is always sick' < /unqu-/ 'to get sick'.

/-ysiki/: /puñuysiki/ 'one who sleeps too much' < /puñu-/ 'to sleep'; /ispaysiki/ 'one who defecates or urinates too often' < /ispa-/ 'to defecate, urinate'. Perhaps compound with the y-nominalization and /siki/ 'base, bottom, rump'.

B. Reduplication.

/kututu/ 'male guinea-pig' is probably a back formation from /kututututu-/ 'to make the sound of a male guinea-pig courting'; cf. verb reduplication (7.31).

Many noun stems are doubled in a manner formally similar to the phenomena described as chameleon morphemes, and yield derivatives meaning 'that which is like a -' or 'that which has lots of -': /atuq-atuq/ 'scorpion' < /atuq/ 'fox';

/kusi-kusi/ 'gaiety; a kind of spider' < /kusi/ 'happy'; /qal̄u-qal̄u/ 'slug (insect)' < /qal̄u/ 'tongue'; /kači-kači/ 'dragonfly' < /kači/ 'salt'; /quča-quča/ 'puddle' < /quča/ 'well; lake'; /sača-sača/ 'with many trees' < /sača/ 'tree'; and the plant names /qitu-qitu/ < (?), /puru-puru/ < /puru/ 'gourd', /kanča-kanča/ < /kanča/ 'playing-court', /rata-rata/ 'bindweed' < /rata/ 'stuck', /awqa-awqa/ < /awqa/ 'needle', /qutu-qutu/ < /qutu/ 'goiter', /muqu-muqu/ < /muqu/ 'knob', /arwi-arwi/ < /arwi/ 'entangled', /saraq-saraq/ < /sara/ 'corn'.

C. Compounds.

The stem /na/ (4.17) forms compounds with the demonstrative pronouns and /huk/ 'one, a': /kayna/ 'this matter; like this'; /čayna/ 'that matter; like that'; etc. The Na stem /hina/ 'manner, approximation; like, as, about; thus' appears to contain this same element, though the first syllable is unidentified.

A few other stems are clearly compounds, eg. /ayakuču/ 'Ayacucho' < /aya/ 'corpse' + /kuču/ 'corner', /utuskuru/ 'corn worm' < ? + */kuru/ (Aya. /uru/) 'worm, bug', /řalmedyu/ 'fifteen cents' < /řal/ 'ten cents' + /medyu/ 'five cents', /wamanripa/ (a plant) < /waman/ 'hawk' + ?, /munapača/ 'pretty' < prob. /munana/ 'desireable' + /pača/ 'condition'.

APPENDIX 2: IRREGULAR VERB DERIVATION

/-a/ is a verbalizer with a few stems ending in consonants: /kurura-/ VTr 'to roll' < /kuruř/ 'clew'; /l̄atana-/ VTr 'to bare, undress' < /l̄atan/ 'bare'; /qunqura-/ VI 'to kneel' < /qunquř/ 'knee'.

/-ka/: /pučuka-/ VI 'to find oneself in a particular situation as a result of persisting in some habit; to survive' < /puču/ Nr-VI 'remainder, rest; to be left over'; /yačakaku-/ VI and /yačakači-/ VTr 'to adapt' < /yača-/ 'to dwell' or /yača-/ 'to know'.

/-l̄a/: /upal̄a-/ VI 'to be quiet' < /upa/ 'mute, dumb'; /waqtal̄aku-/ VI 'to lie down' < /waqta/ 'side'; /maqal̄a-/ (see /maqal̄i-/ below).

/-l̄i/: /ičil̄i-/ VTr 'to open the legs; to split in two' < /iči-/ 'to step'; /kumpal̄i-/ VTr 'to knock down' < /kumpa-/ (ibid.); /hučal̄iku-/ 'to sin, commit crime' < /huča'/ (ibid.); /pačal̄iku-/ VI 'to dress' < /pača/ 'clothing'; /maqal̄i-/ 'to embrace' < ? /maqa-/ 'to hit'; /kwental̄iku-/ VI 'to take responsability' < Sp. /kwenta/ 'account'; /akul̄i-/ VTr 'to chew' < /aku-/ (ibid.); /čintil̄iku-/ VI 'to wrinkle the forehead' < /činti-/ 'to shrink'. This suffix was identified by González Holguín as occurring with names of articles of clothing and meaning 'to put on -', but its present distribution suggests a broader, though unclear, meaning.

/-na/: /ukuna-/ VTr 'to take out' < /uku/ 'interior'; /čuyana-/ VTr 'to rinse' < /čuya/ 'clear, pure'; /tinkina-/

VTr 'to pair' < /tinki-/ (*ibid*.). This suffix occurs with some frequency in the Cuzco dialect where it is often in free alternation with /-ra/ and is similar in meaning to the English verb prefixes dis- and un-. It would appear to be related to a now-extinct case suffix /-naq/ 'without'.

/-nka/: /kučunka-/ VTr 'to circumcise' < /kuču-/ 'to cut'; /wayl̄unka-/ VTr 'to grab by the neck' < /wayl̄u-/ 'to love, have affection for'.

/-nya/: /kutinya-/ VI 'to come and go repeatedly' < /kuti-/ 'to return'.

/-pa/ functioning as a verbalizer is perhaps to be equated with the *pa*-modal: /qaqapa-/ VI 'to fall off a cliff' < /qaqa/ 'cliff'; /waqtapa-/ VTr 'to lay on its side' < /waqta/ 'side'; /l̄il̄ipa-/ VI 'to grow (of sores)' < /l̄il̄i/ 'infection'.

/-pu/ in /ripu-/ VTm 'to go back; to go off' < /ri-/ 'to go' is probably to be equated with the *pU*-modal, which from Cuzco southward has the meaning of returning with motion verbs. Similarly /hampu-/ VTm 'to come home' < /hamu-/ 'to come', but in this case the combination of /-pU/ and /-mu/ as /-mpu/ shows the form to be a borrowing from the Cuzco dialect.

/-pura/ in /uyapurači-/ VTr 'to accuse publicly' < /uya/ 'face', and /makipura-/ VTr 'to bet' < /maki/ 'hand', is equated with the *pura*-case.

/-pya/ or /-piya/ with augmentative meaning may contain the *ya*-modal: /ačapiya-/ or /ačapya-/ VTr 'to jerk repeatedly'

< /ača-/ 'to come off, break free of'; /ñutupya-/ 'to smash' < /ñutu-/ 'to powder, crush'; /čuqapya-/ VTr 'to torment by throwing something' (/rumiwan čuqapya-/ 'to stone') < /čuqa-/ 'to throw'.

/-ra/: /patara-/ VTr 'to double, fold' < /pata/ 'top'. The loanwords /kasara-/ VTr 'to marry' and /masara-/ VTr 'to make (into) dough' show /ra/ prob. < Sp. /-da/ of the past participle.

/-raya/ in /iskayraya-/ VI 'to doubt' is probably the modal combination added to /iskayya-/ 'to become two', later contracted.

/-rkača/ in /qaparkača-/ VI 'to shout repeatedly' < /qapari-/ 'to shout' appears to be a contraction containing the modal combination /-YkUča/, but an earlier form of the same base is recorded as /qaparqača-/ (Cuzco and Bolivia).

/-rpari/: /čutarpari-/ VTr 'to pull' < /čuta-/ (ibid.), et al., of higher frequency farther to the south.

/-ta/: /mul̄quta-/ 'to knot' < /mul̄qu/ 'knot', /ankuta-/ VTr 'to tie the legs of' < /anku/ 'tendon', /saruta-/ VTr. 'to stamp on' < /saru-/ 'to step on', /arwita-/ VI 'to become completely entangled' < /arwi/ Ar-VTr 'tangled; to tie; to become entangled', /kičkitaku-/ VI 'to get stuck, jammed' < /kički/ Ar-VI 'tight; to stick'; perhaps related to a modal suffix /-ta/ reported for the dialect of Maras (Cuzco).

/-wa/: /hukl̄awa-/ VTr 'to join' < /huk/ 'one' + /-l̄a/ 'only'.

/-ya/: /čurya-/ VTr 'to father' < /čuri/ 'man's son',

/masya-/ VTr 'to increase' < /mas/ 'more', /hukmanya-/ VI 'to feel bad' < /huk/ 'one, another' in the man-case.

/-ymana/ apparently represents a compounding of the y-nominalization with a verbal form of the negator /mana/: /yuyaymana-/ VI 'to try to remember, have trouble remembering; to deliberate' < /yuya-/ 'to remember', /qawaymana-/ VTr 'to try to see, have trouble seeing' < /qawa-/ 'to look at', /wañuymana-/ 'to be dying' < /wañu-/ 'to die', /rikčaymana-/ VI 'to try to stay awake' < /rikča-/ 'to awaken', et al.

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